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To investigate the effect of technological change upon farm labor use, a stratified random sample of 696 farm workers from a population of 12,215 in Kern County, California, provided a basis for analysis. Some major findings were: (1) The high peak of seasonal labor use has been eliminated, (2) The need for migratory labor is decreasing, (3) Two-thirds of the workers in seasonal employment are women or children, (4) Spanish-American workers constitute the best basis for a stable local labor supply for any type of seasonal work, (5) Anglo workers are handicapped by feelings of status which have become attached to some types of farm work, (6) General farm workers are becoming specialized, (7) A local labor force is now the major element in the labor supply, (8) The general farm worker has a superior economic position to the seasonal workers, and (9) The greatest impediment to readjustment of the displaced farm workers within the agricultural economy are the status feelings and ethnic prejudices associated with some types of farm jobs. Constructive action by growers and crew leaders and by employment and counseling agencies was recommended to alleviate immediate problems. A related document in this series is available as VT 006 537. (DM)

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DIVISION OF AGRICULTURAL SCIENCES
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The Farm Worker In A Changing Agriculture

Part I in a series on Technological Change and Farm Labor Use Kern County, California, 1961

WILLIAM H. METZLER

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION

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Robert B. Taylor

PREFACE

Accelerated changes in farm technology and the increasing use of machines and equipment are sharply affecting the demand for labor--the total labor need, the proportions of seasonal and regularly employed workers, and skill requirements. Centering in Kern County, California--one of the nation's most productive farming areas--William H. Metzler of the Economic Research Service, U. S. Department of Agriculture, and J. Edwin Faris of the Giannini Foundation of Agricultural Economics (Davis campus) have cooperated in an intensive investigation of the impacts of technological change upon demand for farm labor. This report is the first in a projected series of three reporting the findings of this research.

The present report, under the authorship of William H. Metzler, describes the changes occurring in the farm labor force in the process of adjustment to new technological possibilties.

The forthcoming second report, Farm Mechanization and Labor Stabilization, will explore the trend toward a stable local labor force and suggest ways to expedite the trend.

The forthcoming third report, Capital, Technology, and the Demand for Labor, will deal with the structure of labor use on farms at different levels of technology.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The author wishes to express his appreciation to the many other people who have had a part in this research project. These include: Frank H. Maier of the Economic Research Service, U. S. Department of Agriculture, and George L. Mehren, former director of the Giannini Foundation, for assistance in initiating and planning it; J. Edwin Faris of the Giannini Foundation for his cooperation on the project at all stages; John Hoyt of the Agricultural Extension Service, Jerry Bolster of the Farm Placement Service, and Warren Wegis of the Farm Bureau, for their assistance and counsel in planning the field work in Kern County; J. Richard Grant of the Statistical Reporting Service for drawing the sample; Ed Ca Rivera and Salvador Ochoa for help in obtaining the schedule data; Eric Thor and John Mamer of the Giannini Foundation staff, Dean E. McKee and Reuben Hecht of the Economic Research Service, and William J. Haltigan of the U. S. Department of Labor, for constructive suggestions and review of the manuscript.

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THE FARM WORKER IN A CHANGING AGRICULTURE

by

William H. Metzler[1]

A technological revolution is beginning to transform agriculture all over the world. New machines, new chemicals, new management methods, new breeds, and new varieties are being developed. These increase yields, reduce work, and change the lives of people who engage in agricultural production. The rate of change is highly variable from area to area, and from crop to crop. It depends on the education and training of the farmers, their financial ability to buy and profitably use the new materials and equipment, and on the adaptability of particular crops and operations to mechanized methods and technical improvement.

The use of power equipment is particularly potent in transforming the productive processes and the use of labor. Power machinery reduces the use of routine hand methods and calls for workers with greater technical skill.[2] It fosters the development of larger farm units on which farm operators function as managers and businessmen rather than as hand laborers. As farm units become larger, farmers develop a staff of machine operators, mechanics, and technicians to handle mechanized operations. Hand workers are displaced in large numbers and join the cityward movement of farm people. The ease with which they can shift to other employment depends on the adaptability of the individual and on general economic conditions in the area and the nation.

Technological development has been especially rapid in California, where high-cost farming has spurred the use of more efficient methods.[3] New methods have been especially significant in tillage operations, and in hay and grain production. Recently mechanization of the cotton harvest has produced changes which will affect the labor structure over much of the State. According to estimates of the State Employment Service, 120,000 seasonal workers were needed in 1949 to gather the cotton in the San Joaquin Valley. They moved annually from cotton operations to work in other seasonal jobs and constituted a roving and underutilized supply of seasonal labor. By 1961 only 25,000 workers were used in the cotton harvest and the number is expected to decrease still farther. The reduction in use of migratory labor, and the change to a more skilled and responsible type of farm worker constitute a significant social advance.

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[1] Agricultural Economist, Economic Research Service, Farm Production Economics Division, U.S. Department of Agriculture.

[2] See Power to Produce, 1960 Yearbook of Agriculture, U.S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, D.C. for a detailed description of the accompaniments of agricultural mechanization.

[3] See California Agriculture, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1946. Also California's Farm Labor Problems, Part 1, Senate Fact Finding Committee on Labor and Welfare, Sacramento, 1961.

The trend toward a skilled and stable labor force in place of a floating seasonal supply can be expected to bring other changes. Skilled workers are likely to have larger incomes and higher standards of living, a better status in the community, and a more active role in community affairs. They will want more education for their children, who are likely to move out of farm labor into even more skilled lines of work. This will leave room for other workers to move into skilled farm employment.

Mechanization is beginning to bring even more pronounced changes in the cotton areas of the South and the Southwest. Farms are becoming larger, more specialized, more commercialized, and have higher capital and managerial requirements. The number of tenants in the South has decreased by 80 percent and the number of hired farm workers is being cut substantially. Except for families on the smaller farms, incomes and levels of living are improving rapidly. A major move is from farms to employment in "agribusiness."1/

The survey of farm workers was confined to Kern County. Technological changes are occurring there somewhat more rapidly than in many other parts of the cotton area in California. Mechanization of the cotton harvest will soon be complete, as the use of cleanup machines after the cotton harvester becomes universal. In this County, too, mechanization of the potato harvest is beginning and, if present production and technical trends continue, will eventually supplant some 5,000 to 8,000 seasonal workers. Some Kern County cotton farmers have already eliminated the use of hand labor in chopping and weeding their

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1/ Lanham, Ben T., Southern Agriculture Recent Trends, Current Status, and Future Prospects, Agr. Expt. Sta., Auburn, Alabama, June 1961. Also C. E. Bishop, "Special Problems and Policy Needs of Southern Agriculture," Proceedings of Second Annual Farm Policy Review Conference, North Carolina State College, November 1961.

cotton, and all hand labor for these operations will disappear as soon as precision planting is perfected. Grapes, the third major labor-using crop in the area, have not been mechanized, but experiments are underway. Elimination of the need for migratory labor is a definite possibility for the near future. Changes in this County probably point the way to general trends over the cotton area.

An early report on the mechanical harvesting of cotton indicated that 20 machines picked 3,000 bales of cotton in the San Joaquin Valley in 1945.1/ This study reported that the machines saved $10 per bale in harvest costs and would eventually supplant hand labor. By 1951, 3,700 machines picked 975,000 bales, or over 54 percent of the entire crop.2/ By that year, the cost of machine harvesting had dropped to approximately one-half that of hand picking.

These trends have continued and by 1959, 1,600,000 bales were picked by machine or 83 percent of the entire production.3/ It was estimated that each of the earlier machines displaced approximately 25 hand workers. The new two-row harvesters, if used to full capacity, can displace almost four times that number.

Mechanization of cotton and potato operations is changing the migratory labor patterns over much of California. The major basis of the pattern in the past has been the prospect of from 5 to 6 months of work in the cotton fields followed by several months work in the deciduous fruit orchards. As the use of hand labor in the cotton fields is eliminated, that pattern cannot continue. Only the few workers who can obtain employment in pruning will be able to maintain themselves on a year-round basis. Consequently, the traditional "Okie" migrant is losing his position in the economy. The ascendant group is the "green card" workers from Mexico. Many of them had formerly worked in the State as braceros, but have now reentered as permanent residents under Public Law 414 enacted in 1952.

In a dynamic economy new methods displace labor and eventually result in a shifting of workers from less productive to more productive employment. Yet

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1/ Venstrom, Cruz, Experience in 1945 with Mechanical Cotton Pickers in California, U.S. Department of Agriculture, October 1946.

2/ Hedges, Trimble R., and Warren R. Bailey, Economics of Mechanical Cotton Harvesting, Berkeley: University of California, Agr. Expt. Sta. Bul. 743, April 1954.

3/ California State Department of Employment, California Annual Farm Labor Report, 1959, Sacramento, 1960.

the shifting process may take years, especially if (1) the workers do not have mechanical or technical skills, and (2) recessions or business slowdowns delay the process of economic expansion. Insofar as displacement results in unemployment, loss of income, and loss of purchasing power, the entire economy suffers, economic growth is retarded, and economic inequalities are engendered. Underutilization of manpower is not only a waste of valuable resources, but is destructive of human morale and a source of social discontent. It is important, therefore, that workers be equipped to change to more productive employment, and that economic expansion be continuous.

PURPOSE AND METHOD

The labor-saving effects of mechanization have received wide publicity. Undoubtedly they constitute a most constructive aspect of the growth of technology. Yet, the effects of mechanization on the farm worker have received little attention, possibly because they may discount some of the gains attributed to mechanization.1/ The objective of the present survey has been to study and describe the farm workers in an area undergoing rapid technological change. Little attention will be given to the farm operator or to the members of his family. Attention will be concentrated on the force of hired workers who do the skilled and unskilled work.

This study covers the composition and structure of the farm work force in Kern County, the extent to which the workers are utilized, their rates of pay, and their earnings. It covers the movement of farm workers into and out of the area as local labor demands fluctuate from one part of the season to another. It touches on the occupational background of the workers and their plans for the future.

The Sample

It was decided, for purposes of this study, to obtain a 5 percent sample of all persons who had done any farm work for wages in the County during the

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1/ The social benefits of cotton mechanization are discussed by Street, James H., The New Revolution in the Cotton Economy, University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1957. Additional aspects by McMillan, Robert T., Social Aspects of Farm Mechanization in Oklahoma, Oklahoma Agr. Expt. Sta. Bul. B-339, November 1949.

12 months prior to the time of the survey. This would include both the resident workers and those who moved in seasonally during periods of high labor use.

Sources utilized in drawing the sample included the following: (1) Census data as to the number of farm workers in each of the towns and cities in the County, (2) estimates by officials of the local Farm Labor Office of the State Employment Service as to the number and location of farm workers, and (3) data from the local office of the State Housing Commission as to the number, size, and location of the farm labor camps in the County.

The 1960 Census of Population taken as of April 1st indicated there were 12,215 farm workers in the County at that time.1/ These figures would include the resident workers and a few inmigrants for the 1960 season since seasonal migration into the County starts during that month. It was estimated, therefore, that a sampling rate of 5 percent should yield a sample of from 700 to 800 workers.2/

Sampling of workers in the towns and cities was done on a block basis. The areas in which farm workers lived were quite distinct. These were mapped and each fifth block was included in the sample. In the labor camps, list sampling was used. Camp managers furnished a list of names of residents and every twentieth name was selected.

This plan left several groups of farm workers out of the sample. First, those who lived in residential areas occupied almost entirely by nonfarm people; second, those who lived in scattered single family dwellings in the open country rather than in labor camps; and third, those who lived in the upland livestock, hay, and grazing areas of the County. A check over these areas indicated that the number of workers there was relatively small. They would largely be general farm workers, therefore, such workers are slightly underrepresented in the sample.

The Schedule

A schedule of questions was developed which was concerned with (1) the size, type, and work pattern of the household, (2) the age, sex, employment, and earnings of the individual worker, and (3) the jobs held by the individuals

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1/ This compares with 14,285 enumerated in the Census of 1950, a decline of 14.5 percent.

2/ A total of 696 workers were interviewed in the sample area.

within the past year. Information in regard to individual jobs included the type of work done, location of the work, time the job began and ended, total days at the job, rates of pay, and total earnings. Workers were asked to explain the reasons for any loss of time. Questions were asked in regard to their farm and nonfarm skills, their work preferences, and their plans for their children.

Enumeration

The field work was timed in such a way that workers in cities, towns, and camps in the cotton-potato area were interviewed at the height of the potato-picking and cotton-chopping season, May and June. Field work in the towns and camps in the grape area was carried on at the height of the grape harvest, August and September. This was done to insure inclusion of the proper number of local seasonal and migrant workers in the sample. A third enumeration was made during the cotton harvest so as to ascertain the type of employment that still remained in this operation.

Workers were contacted in their homes after 6 P.M. An effort was made to involve the whole family in the interview, because some members had more accurate information than others. The workers were highly cooperative. Some produced income tax statements,others showed weekly statements as to hours and earnings which had been supplied to them by labor contractors.

A schedule was obtained in each household in which any member had done any farm work during the previous 12 months, and an individual record was taken of the employment of each person in the household who had done any work for pay during that time. Consequently, the sample includes a few workers who had not been employed in agriculture during the year. In the sample areas those heads of households who had shifted from farm to nonfarm work during the past 10 years were questioned in regard to their present occupation. This provided only a minor clue as to what happens to ex-farm workers.

Interpretive Data

In addition to the schedule data from the farm workers, interpretive data were obtained from local public officials, civic leaders, growers, and labor contractors. They were interviewed to obtain data in regard to changes in mechanization, employment, migration, welfare-loads, and other pertinent factors.

AGRICULTURAL EMPLOYMENT STRUCTURE

The total value of agricultural commodities produced in Kern County now averages around $250,000,000 per year and is among the highest of the counties in the nation. The Census of Agriculture reported average sales of farm products in 1959 in Kern County as $107,554 per farm. The capital investment per farm in Kern County is also among the highest of the counties in the Nation. According to the 1959 Census, the average investment per farm in land, buildings, and equipment was $286,113. There were 2,062 farms in the County in that year, of which 1,626 were classified as commercial (Table 1). Motorized equipment on the farms in the County included 7,409 tractors, an average of 3.6 per farm.

According to the Census count, a total of 1,502 of the farmers used hired labor during the year 1959 and expended $35,612,000 in wages, an average of $23,710 per farm. The Census also reported the number of workers who had worked on the farms in the County during the first week of December 1959, a period of relatively slack employment. During that period, 1,708 farm operators did some work on their farms and were assisted by 572 unpaid members of their families. Also, during the first week of December, a total of 8,585 hired workers were working on the farms, of which 6,225 had been employed on the reporting farm for 150 days or longer during the previous year. Seasonal employment is at a low ebb this late in the year, so regular farm workers were in the majority.[1/]

The Census data reflects the changes which have occurred in labor use in the County. Deflated expenditure data for hired labor indicates labor use up to and through 1950, then a 28 percent drop during the next five years. The increase of close to 14 percent since then reflects the normal expansion of agricultural activities in the County.

Seasonal Labor Needs

Officials of the State Employment Service make weekly estimates as to total agricultural employment in each county. These estimates are based on:

[1/] The Census designated all workers who worked on the reporting farm for 150 days or longer during the previous year as regular farm workers. Some of these may actually have been seasonal hand workers, e.g., those who had worked in several crops such as cotton and grapes.

TABLE 1

Trends in Farming and in Hired Farm Labor Use, Kern County 1930-59[a]

Year	Farms	Cropland harvested	Cotton	Farms with hired labor [b]	Expenditures for hired labor: In current dollars [c]	Expenditures for hired labor: In 1930 dollars [d]	Time of Census count [d]	Hired farm workers [e]
	number	acres	acres	number			month	number
1930	2,397	149,508	65,930	--	3,713,999	3,713,999		--
1935	2,584	144,761	50,134	999	--	--	Jan.	4,466
1939	2,188	255,744	66,470	1,623	5,105,903	6,634,200	Sept.	10,724
1940							Mar.	4,118
1945	2,710	362,784	56,524	2,132	15,910,135	7,832,051	Jan.	6,705
1950	2,599	456,444	227,027	1,927	33,023,271	15,272,262	Mar.	12,561
1954	2,303	597,808	205,517	1,772	27,691,603	10,973,227	Sept.	12,511
1959	2,062	581,887	208,347	1,502	35,612,262	12,503,705	Dec.	8,585

[a] All data from U.S. Census of Agriculture.

[b] Had expenditures for hired labor during previous year.

[c] Actual expenditures for hired labor during previous year.

[d] Deflated by index of farm wage rates for California, U.S. Department of Agriculture data.

[e] Employed during Census survey week. Seasonal changes in farm labor use in the County appear in Figure 1. Prior to 1950 all workers were included who had worked for two days or more during the survey week. After 1950 all hired workers were included who had done any work during the week.

(1) the man-hour requirements for handling each of the crops in the County, and (2) field investigations to ascertain crop conditions, the timing of the labor needs, the movement of workers, the extent of mechanization, and the existence of other factors that affect labor use. Their estimates of labor use in Kern County during the 1960 season are shown in the accompanying chart (Figure 1). During a period of six months, under 5,000 hired workers are now needed to carry on the farming activities. During three additional months, 7,000 are needed. Peak labor needs in May and June run to around 15,000 workers.

The chief labor-using crops in Kern County are cotton, potatoes, and grapes (Table 2).

Cotton acreage in 1949, the year of highest labor use in the County, was 247,000 acres with a total production of 365,500 bales. In that year, 30,000 workers were used at the peak of the harvest. The trends since then in cotton acreage, production, and workers used at the peak have been as follows:

Year	Acres	Bales	Workers at peak
1949	247,000	365,500	30,000
1951	320,000	496,400	22,500
1953	317,900	492,700	18,100
1955	177,800	352,400	7,500
1959	180,000	454,700	10,000
1959	219,000	533,000	10,000
1961	197,000	430,000	6,000

While mechanization has been the major factor behind the reduction in labor needs, acreage reduction has also played a part. Except for one week in 1961 labor needs were down to 4,000 workers.[1]

The acreage and yields of potatoes are similar to those of 20 years ago. Year-to-year variations, however, are the rule. Potato prices are highly variable and growers try to take advantage of the good years. This creates

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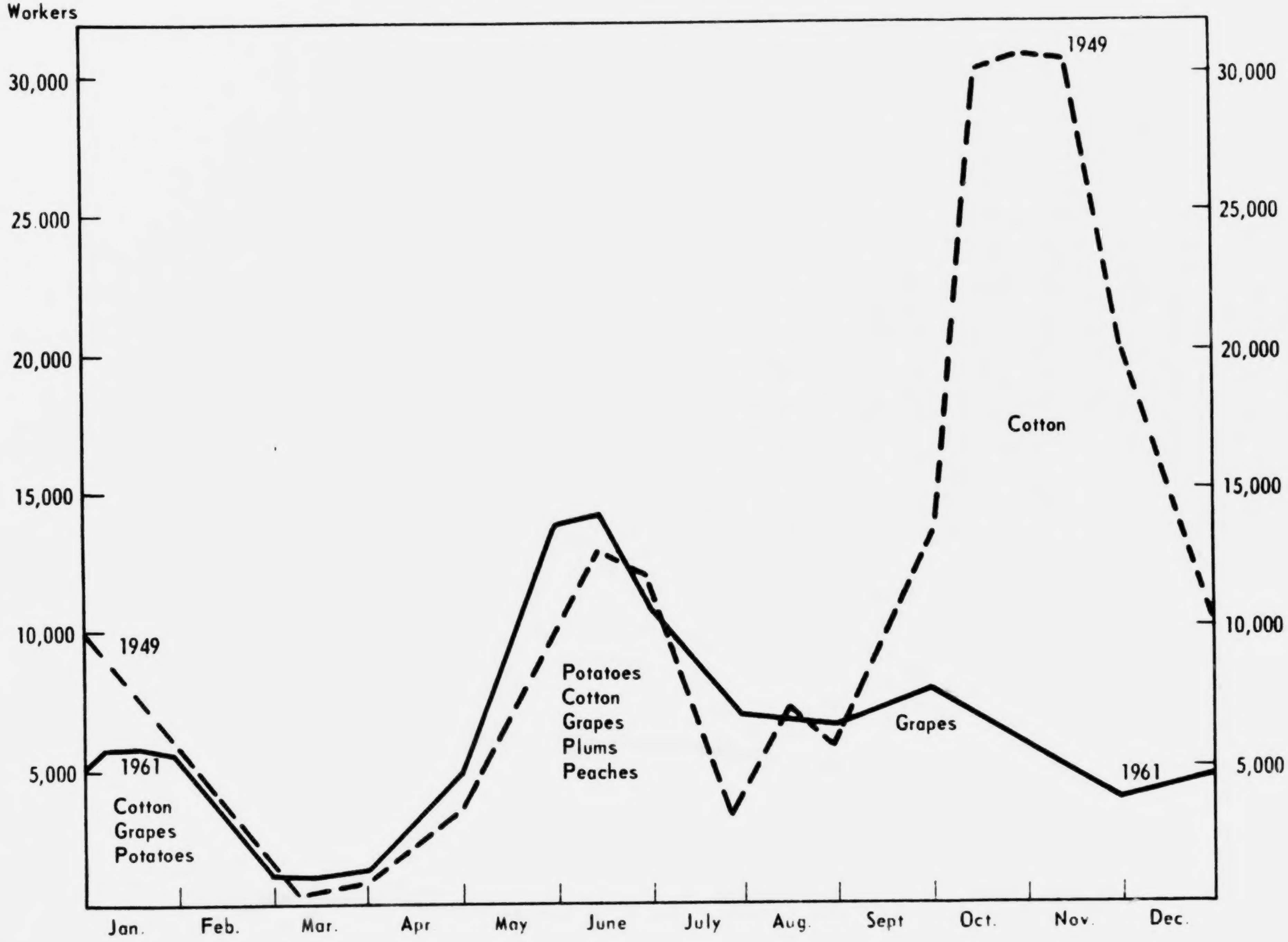
[1] The author made a survey of farm workers in the same camps and residential areas in 1947 and 1948. Practically all the occupants then were farm workers and they were building many new houses. During the height of the cotton season, large tent camps were put up to take care of additional families, and hundreds of workers were hauled back and forth from Los Angeles every day. In 1961 fewer than one-fourth of the earlier farm worker homes were occupied by farm workers, no new homes were being built by these people, there were no tent camps, and no day haul from Los Angeles. Some new camps for single workers had been constructed and a small amount of family housing by the County Housing Authority. The 1947-48 survey covered the San Joaquin Valley Area. See William H. Metzler and Afife F. Sayin, The Agricultural Labor Force in the San Joaquin Valley, California 1948, U.S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, 1950.

FIGURE 1. SEASONAL FARM LABOR NEEDS
Kern County – 1949 and 1961



Estimates by California State Employment Service.

TABLE 2

Estimates of Labor Use in Major Crops, Kern County, 1961

Major crops	Acreage 1961[a]	Operation	Active period[b]	Peak period[b]	Total workers at peak [b]
Cotton	195,000	chop	May 1 - Sept. 1	May 20 - June 10	3,500
		pick	Sept. 10 - Jan. 1	Oct. 10 - Dec. 1	6,000[c]
Potatoes	56,200	cut	Jan. 1 - Mar. 1	Jan. 10 - Feb. 15	600
		pick	Apr. 15 - July 15	May 22 - June 17	3,500[d]
Grapes	27,192	prune	Dec. 15 - Mar. 1	Dec. 25 - Feb. 1	3,000
		girdle	May 15 - July 1	June 5 - June 17	3,000
		pick	July 15 - Oct. 25	Aug. 1 - Sept. 10	4,200
Plums	1,860	pick	June 5 - July 10	June 10 - June 24	1,900
Peaches, nectarines	1,250	pick	May 15 - Sept. 1	May 25 - June 10	700
Orchards (plum, peach)	3,010	thin	Apr. 8 - June 15	Apr. 17 - May 17	2,000
Melons	6,176	pick	June 20 - Aug. 1	June 26 - July 26	1,400
Peas	1,230	pick	Mar. 12 - May 1	Mar. 20 - Apr. 20	1,000
Alfalfa hay	118,000	cut	Apr. 1 - Nov. 1	May 22 - Aug. 26	900
Sugar beets	8,940	thin	Feb. 25 - May 25	Mar. 6 - Apr. 20	350
Citrus	1,172	pick	Nov. 1 - Mar. 1	Nov. 15 - Dec. 25	250

[a] Data from 1960 Agricultural Crop Report, Kern County Agricultural Commissioner, Bakersfield, 1962.

[b] Estimates derived from weekly State Employment Service Reports. Weather conditions will change the timing on some operations by two or three weeks.

[c] A figure of 6,000 workers reported for one week only. Report for other peak weeks was 4,000 workers.

[d] Usual figure is 5,500 workers but number used in 1961 was down because of market conditions.

fluctuations in production and in the demand for labor. In heavy producing years as many as 10,500 workers are used to handle these operations. In years of light production, 6,000 workers can meet all requirements. Potato bulking machines are just beginning to reduce labor needs for this crop.[1/]

Grapes are a heavy labor-using crop, but the major requirements are spread out over several parts of the year. Pruning provides winter employment for about 3,000 workers, girdling and training calls for a similar number of workers in the late spring, and peak labor needs mount to around 4,500 workers during the harvest in August and September.

The acreage in plums is increasing. They are a "flash" crop, i.e., with a short harvest season that is not subject to delay. Peak labor needs come during June, the period of peak labor use for cotton chopping and the potato harvest. So, plum growers are sometimes unable to obtain as many workers as they need.

Labor requirements for the peaches, peas, oranges, sugar beets, onions, alfalfa, and other crops are not sufficiently great to create a problem. In fact, they tend to smooth out the peaks rather than to accentuate them.

Annual Cycle of Seasonal Labor Use (See Figure 1)

The major seasonal activity during January is pruning grapes. Several hundred workers are also needed to cut potatoes for seed. In a late season such as 1961, some workers can still find employment at scrapping cotton.

In February, these activities are completed. Thinning sugar beets and picking peas start in this month or in March, depending on the season. March is the month of lowest labor use.

In April, migrant workers begin moving into the County because potato picking and cotton chopping start at some time during this month. These provide the first major seasonal farm work opportunity in the entire Central Valley. These activities pick up momentum during May and reach a peak of labor need by the early part of June. Grape girdling, plum picking, and later the cantaloupe harvest add to the labor needs. During June, 5,000 to 6,000 workers are

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[1/] For the effects of potato harvest mechanization see, U.S. Department of Labor, Potato Harvest Mechanization, Effect on Seasonal Hired Labor, Washington, August 1961.

used in picking up potatoes, 3,000 to 4,000 in chopping cotton, 2,000 to 3,000 in girdling grapes, and 2,000 in picking plums.

In July, the period of heavy labor use comes to an end. Both inmigrant and some local workers leave the area to engage in the fruit harvests in the central part of the State. In August, outside workers come in to engage in the grape harvest. These workers are largely Filipinos or Spanish Americans who have developed special skills in picking and packing grapes.

In September, some seasonal workers can still find employment in the cotton harvest to pick out the cotton at the ends of the rows and to gather the low-lying bolls that the mechanical harvesters have missed. This work may last for several months.

Fall potatoes, tomatoes, and navel oranges provide employment for several hundred workers during the last months of the year.

The Shift to General Farm Labor

In specialty agriculture the operator's need for additional workers varies widely from crop to crop and with size of the farm unit. The only need on small operations is for seasonal workers to help with the harvest. On farm operations which are somewhat larger, general farm workers are needed for such operations as plowing, cultivating, irrigating, pruning, thinning, and hauling. Their employment still is seasonal, but the work season is long enough that some local workers can remain in such general hired farm work as a vocation. On larger and more diversified units the farm operator hires many workers on a year-round basis and has them move from one task to another, but he may also hire short-term workers who have skill and proficiency in special jobs.

The use of power equipment increases with the growth in size of farm units.1/ It is financially advantageous to keep expensive capital equipment in as continuous use as possible. This may call for renting or buying additional land. It may also call for a staff of dependable workers on a year-round basis. On

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1/ See Faris, J. Edwin, and David L. Armstrong, Economies Associated with Size, Kern County Cash-Crop Farms, Berkeley: University of California, Agr. Expt. Sta., Giannini Foundation Research Report No. 269, December 1963. Also Armstrong, David L., and J. Edwin Faris, Farm Machinery -- Costs, Performance Rates, and Combinations (in preparation).

the other hand, a grower who does not wish to invest or cannot justify the investment in a particular type of equipment, e.g., an airplane for dusting, may hire this job done by a specialist who has his own equipment.

In specialty farming areas, then, a labor force develops which is equipped to perform the general farming tasks in the area. This labor force is likely to be made up of three groups; first, year-round workers who assist on most of the farming operations on a particular unit; second, short-term regular workers who specialize in a few of the operations and move from farm to farm to perform them; and third, custom operators who contract to perform such operations as hauling, spraying, dusting, or land planing. They have the specialized equipment which is needed and try to make a return on both their labor and investment.

On still larger farming operations, the staff of general employees is enlarged and specialization of their tasks is greater. Some workers specialize in tractor work -- plowing, cultivating, and hauling. Others specialize in irrigating and handling irrigation equipment, others in repairing and rebuilding farm machinery. Very large operating units begin to develop their own technical and administrative staffs. Professional chemists may be hired to develop and supervise the preparation and use of sprays, dusts, and chemicals used to speed up or destroy plant growth. Accountants, stenographers, and other office employees are gradually added as the business aspects of the farm enterprise become more important. Large operators also develop packing, shipping, and sales facilities; then production operations may become subordinate to marketing activities.

Skilled and Unskilled Seasonal Jobs

The impression persists that all hand labor jobs in agriculture are unskilled and that any worker, regardless of previous experience, can step in and fill them. This is becoming less and less true in commercial agriculture. For example, Filipino workers possess a special skill in packing an attractive box of grapes, and grape growers dislike to hire workers who do a poorer job. Special skills are also needed in picking plums, peaches, melons, and other crops for the fresh market.

On the other hand, almost anyone with some physical strength and endurance can pick up potatoes. The sacks filled by the unskilled are almost as good in quality as those filled by the expert. This is also true of picking cotton.

The major requirements are to pick clean and not to put extraneous materials in the sack.

A skilled seasonal worker takes pride in his proficiency. He tends to migrate to other areas where he can exercise his skill rather than to work at other jobs at which he has no proficiency or which require no skill. This procedure could constitute his best method of contributing to the economy, except that housing, school, and other aspects of society are set up for resident people rather than for transients.

Job Status

To understand the farm work force in Kern County involves more than a knowledge of their numbers and occupational classification. Over a period of time rigidities have developed which restrict the movement of workers from crop to crop, stimulate migration, and increase production hazards. A surplus of one type of worker may exist at the same time that other types of labor are in short supply. These rigidities result from three interrelated factors -- job status, job specialization, and ethnic friction. They now are especially important because they impede the adjustment of displaced labor to the remaining farm jobs.

Occupations are stratified on the basis of social status, with work in sugar beets, peas, and other "stoop" labor crops constituting the lowest status level. Above this are such jobs as hand work in potatoes, cotton, and grapes. The worker on "ladder" crops regards himself as being at a higher level. The gradations among general farm workers are equally pronounced. An irrigator who handles complex sprinkling equipment emphasizes that he is not the type of irrigator who spends his time opening and closing ditches with a shovel. An operator of heavy farm equipment does not regard himself as being in the same class with the worker who can only handle a light tractor and small equipment.

These feelings are strong enough that many workers will go without work rather than to take jobs of inferior status that they need very badly.1/ During

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1/ Job preferences and avoidances were discussed with all workers but no definitive questions could be arrived at to measure their attitudes. They professed greater willingness to do "any kind" of farm labor than either their work records or their refusals of jobs at the local Farm Labor Offices would substantiate. "Bad backs" kept some from thinning sugar beets, but not from picking cotton or potatoes.

the slow season of the year, a tractor driver will ignore the fact that additional pea pickers or sugar beet thinners are needed. The cotton or potato picker is also likely to ignore a request for such workers.[1]

Job Specialization

In addition to feelings of job status is the fact that most workers specialize in a few crops instead of trying any type of farm work that is available. The farm workers are not an agricultural labor force ready to do any seasonal job that comes during the course of the work year. In fact, three or four different labor forces are used in the County to perform the various seasonal tasks. Those brought up in the cotton area of the South, specialize in cotton chopping and picking and may also learn to work in a few other crops, but make no effort to learn how to perform all operations in the seasonal cycle. Few cotton and potato workers have learned to do a careful job of handling grapes. Hence, they may leave the County at the same time that a group of grape workers are moving in. The melon grower finds that such people are indifferent to his calls for workers, so he has to import labor to harvest his crop.

Ethnic Aspects

Many of the tables in this report carry a classification of workers according to their ethnic background. It is important because ethnic prejudices provide the basis for some of the taboos against doing certain types of work.

Ethnic rigidities in farm employment are especially strong in areas close to the Mexican border and in others in which large numbers of stoop laborers are used. Some stoop labor jobs, particularly in vegetables and sugar beets, acquire the label of being only for Mexicans or Orientals. Other jobs such as operating equipment, picking fruit from ladders (except for citrus), are regarded primarily as work for Anglo-Americans. Some work has dropped in status as more Spanish Americans have entered into it. Several factors enter into this situation. One of the most basic is blind avoidance of strange people and situations. Anglo-American workers raised in the cotton belt were asked why they didn't work in grapes. Their typical response was "We always have worked in cotton. We never did work in grapes," or "Mexicans and Filipinos do that. We don't." Filipino workers gave a similar response when asked why they didn't work in cotton.[1] Prejudices extend more strongly to work with strange and "different" people than to work at strange jobs.

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[1] Job status is almost as pronounced in the nonfarm economy. An unemployed carpenter, college professor, or businessman is likely to turn down an offer of employment as a casual worker or domestic servant even though he needs a job very badly. For status groupings in industrial employment, see Gardner, Burleigh, Human Relations in Industry, Richard D. Irwin, Inc., Chicago, 1950. For status groups in a community see Warner, W.L., The Status System of a Modern Community, Yale University Press, New Haven, Connecticut, 1942.

Some farm workers pointed out that they had practical reasons for avoiding work with members of other ethnic groups. Their daughters had been accosted in the fields by young men who they regarded as being of inferior status. Again the "foreigners" often ganged up on the Anglo workers and gave them all the poor rows. There also were differences in toilet habits which were sometimes embarrassing.

These rigidities are a definite hindrance when mechanization makes it necessary for workers to shift to work in other crops. Yet feelings of status tend to increase with mechanization and with the increase in complexity of farm organization. Jobs become increasingly unequal when some workers can specialize in skilled lines of work while others do only those which involve hard or dirty labor. The new workers from Mexico rapidly become aware of these status levels and soon become unwilling to do stoop labor. Then new workers must be sought who will be willing to perform such jobs. This becomes an unending process.

Migrancy

Although migrancy has several aspects, it is related to the system of job specialization. Workers move from area to area in order to follow particular job specialities rather than to shift from crop to crop in a local area. This has become an established part of the economic organization of the region. A worker who needs to work in new crops in order to settle down finds that employers will give a preference to outsiders who have had more experience in those crops.

THE FARM WORKERS

Recent History in Kern County

Prior to the thirties much of the farm work in the County was done by Spanish American and Filipino workers. They worked in the grapes, hay, and other crops. Cotton had just been introduced and Negroes had been recruited in the South to help with the field operations. Anglo-American "bindlestiffs" came in seasonally to help with the loading, hauling, irrigating, and similar jobs.

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[1] For status systems among ethnic groups in an eastern city, see Warner, W. L., The Social Systems of American Ethnic Groups, Yale University Press, New Haven, Connecticut, 1942.

An almost complete change in the labor force occurred during the thirties. Anglo-American refugees from the "dust bowl" began to take over much of the seasonal farm work.[1] Displaced Spanish-American workers returned to Mexico.

In 1935, 5,500 workers were needed for the cotton harvest in Kern County, 7,200 were needed for grapes.[2] Three-fourths of the workers in both crops came from outside the County.

The "dust bowl" migrants who settled in the County began to construct "shacktown," an eyesore to local residents but a pioneering effort to the workers. Most of them had some experience in cotton production and gravitated naturally to cotton chopping and cotton picking. Some migrated to other counties to work in the apricots and peaches during the slack season between spring and fall cotton operations. "Dust bowlers" who had settled elsewhere in the State came to work in Kern County during the periods of heavy labor need. These groups established patterns of migratory labor movement which have only recently been changed by mechanization of the cotton harvest.

During World War II and again during the Korean War many of these Anglo-American workers left the County to engage in defense work and did not return. These outmigrations resulted in a shift back toward Spanish American, Mexican, and Negro labor. Spanish American and Negro workers often bought the small houses the "Okies" had built and some farm-worker settlements were taken over completely.

Migration from the "dust bowl" states has continued, but in diminishing numbers. Most of the workers who have come from Texas in recent years are Spanish Americans and Mexicans who are coming in to make their homes in the County.

"Green card" workers from Mexico are becoming a significant addition to the labor force. Growers have encouraged their best braceros to return to the

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[1] See Kern County Health Department, Survey of Kern County Migrant Labor Problem, 1937 and supplements in 1938, 1939, and 1941, Bakersfield, California.

[2] State Relief Administration, Survey of Agricultural Labor Requirements in California, 1935, Sacramento, California, 1935.

United States on a permanent immigrant visa. Then they are free agents and are not restricted to jobs and areas in which there is a labor shortage. They usually return to Mexico during the slack season, and some bring back their families or their friends.

A few Mexican Nationals are still used in the County to pick melons and cucumbers and to harvest garlic. The number is so small that no effort was made to include them in this survey.

A recent source of farm labor is inmigration from depressed industrial areas. Wars produce periods of outmigration but recessions result in reverse migrations into the County and into seasonal farm work. Such workers regard farm work as a "make-do" until they are able to get back into some type of nonfarm employment.

Workers in the Sample

The sample for the 1961 survey included 696 workers. Of these 330 or about 48 percent were Anglo-American, 25 percent were Spanish American, 11 percent were "green card" Mexican, 12 percent were Negro, and 4 percent were from other ethnic groups -- Filipino, Puerto Rican, Japanese, or American Indian (Table 3). This sample may include a somewhat smaller proportion of Filipino, Spanish American, and Mexican workers than the actual work force in the County in a normal season. An almost complete failure of the grape crop in the southeastern part of the productive area resulted in many grape labor camps being practically empty. The displaced workers, however, may have been interviewed in other grape areas of the County.

Of the workers, 177 or 25 percent were classified as general farm workers and 425 or 61 percent as seasonal. The remaining 14 percent were either processing or custom workers, or nonfarm workers who did some farm work during the year. In terms of man-days of work done during the year, the general farm workers reported 41,241 as compared to 42,925 by the seasonal workers. In man-hours of work the totals were 461,899 for the general farm workers and 351,985 for the seasonal, or 31 percent more. Total wages paid to the general farm workers were $362,950 as compared to $503,919 for the seasonal, or 40 percent more. In terms of both hours of work and wage costs, then, the general farm worker is now the most important element in the farm labor force.

The classification of workers by major type of work done during the year may create an impression of greater stability than actually exists. A total

TABLE 3

Major Employment of Farm Workers, Kern County, 1961, by Ethnic Group

Major employment	All workers		Ethnic group									
			Anglo-American		Spanish American		Mexican		Negro		Other	
	no.	pct.	no.	pct.	no.	pct.	no.	pct.	no.	pct.	no.	pct.
General farm worker	177	26	107	32	37	22	3	3	20	25	10	36
General farm hand	38	5	26	8	4	2	--	--	8	10	--	--
General hand worker	32	5	2	1	21	12	2	2	--	--	7	25
Equipment operator	46	7	37	11	4	2	--	--	5	6	--	--
Irrigator	22	3	14	4	5	3	--	--	3	4	--	--
Drive tractor, irrigate	15	2	10	3	--	--	1	1	4	5	--	--
Mechanical, technical	11	2	10	3	1	1	--	--	--	--	--	--
Foreman, crew boss	13	2	8	2	2	2	--	--	--	--	3	11
Seasonal hand worker	425	61	171	52	121	69	72	91	43	50	18	64
Cotton or potatoes only a/	166	24	97	30	22	13	7	9	36	43	4	14
Grapes only	35	5	1	--	13	7	11	14	6	6	4	14
Other combinations	224	32	73	22	86	49	54	68	1	1	10	36
Other workers	94	13	52	16	16	9	5	6	21	25	--	--
Processing worker	40	6	29	9	9	5	1	1	1	1	--	--
Custom worker	10	1	5	2	1	1	1	1	3	4	--	--
Nonfarm worker	44	6	18	5	6	3	3	4	17	20	--	--
All workers	696	100	330	100	175	100	79	100	84	100	28	100

a/ Includes workers who worked only in cotton, or in potatoes, or in both.

of 100 of the 177 general farm workers did nothing but general farm work during the year (Appendix Table 1). Seventy-seven made a change in type of work, 50 to seasonal farm employment, 10 to work in a processing plant, and 5 to nonfarm employment. Twelve more made more than one shift during the season.

Seasonal workers shifted from their type of work less frequently. Eighty-five percent did only seasonal farm work during the year. Six percent did some general farm work, 3 percent worked in a processing plant, and 4 percent had some nonfarm employment.

On the other hand, their position as farm workers is highly stable. Relatively few shifted between farm and nonfarm work, or between farm operation and hired farm work.

General Farm Workers

Farmers generally refer to their skilled and more regular employees either as general or as regular farm workers. Neither term is entirely appropriate. The work of the general farm worker has become more and more specialized. Few now perform all the skilled and technical tasks. On the other hand, less than half of the skilled workers are employed on a year-round basis. The worker who specializes in operating a cotton harvester is actually a skilled seasonal worker but he prefers to regard his work as general farm work. Probably a new system of nomenclature is needed. In this report, however, the skilled workers will be referred to as general farm workers. The term covers all equipment operators, irrigators, foremen, and technical, clerical, and administrative assistants. For analytical purposes they have been divided into the following subgroups:

General farm hand -- usually employed on smaller farms to assist the operator in all work ordinarily done by him -- driving tractors and trucks, irrigating, pruning, spraying, and hay work. One-fifth of the 177 general farm workers in the 1961 sample were of this type.

General hand worker -- most common on grape operations, works for 10 to 12 months at pruning, tying vines, girdling, picking, and swamping. Almost one-fifth of the general farm workers were of this type.

Equipment operator -- a tractor driver during cultural operations also handles cotton harvesters, potato harvesters or bulkers, hay equipment, etc. One-fourth of the general farm workers were of this type.

Irrigator -- some handle complex sprinkler systems, others use hand tools only. Twelve percent of the general farm workers fell in this category.

Tractor driver and irrigator -- specializes in these two jobs but may do other types of general farm work.

Mechanical, technical, clerical -- some design and construct farm equipment as well as keep it repaired, some are typists, clerks, or accountants. Six percent of the general farm workers fell in this group.

Foremen, supervisor -- some work on a year-round basis, most supervise harvest or other seasonal operations.

Of the workers who were employed on less than a year-round basis, many went back to the same farm operator year after year to operate potato or cotton equipment or to perform other special jobs. Some of these workers also had mechanical jobs in packing sheds or cotton gins and preferred their seasonal shift between jobs to continuous employment at one line of work. Others were striving toward work on a year-round basis.

The distinction between general farm workers and seasonal workers is also not precise. The worker who picks out the rocks, vines, and other trash on a potato harvester regards himself as a general farm worker, several steps above the stoop laborer who still picks up potatoes by hand. The man who prunes grapes, ties vines, girdles vines, and performs other grape operations is actually a hand worker. Yet the skills required and the length of the work season are such as to justify his being classed as a general farm worker. Consequently, only the hand workers in hoeing and harvesting have been classified as seasonal workers.

The Seasonal Workers

Seasonal hand workers are still the most numerous element in the farm labor force in the County in spite of the fact that they now perform a minor part of the farm work. Their smaller contribution is partly due to the fact that almost two-thirds are now women or youth. Such workers are likely to restrict their activities to operations which (1) occur during the summer months and (2) do not involve continuous heavy labor.

As previously indicated, there are several seasonal work forces in the County. Some stay close to their specialty. Over half of the Anglo-American workers worked only in cotton and potatoes, while two-thirds of the Negroes worked only in cotton (Table 4). Two-thirds of the Filipinos and Puerto Ricans worked only in grapes.

TABLE 4

Crops in Which Farm Workers Engaged, Kern County, 1961 by Ethnic Group

Crops	Ethnic group											
	All workers[a]		Anglo-American		Spanish American		Mexican		Negro		Other	
	number	percent	number	percent	number	percent	number	percent	number	percent	number	percent
Cotton only	99	19	49	22	10	7	2	3	38	63	--	--
Potatoes only	59	11	48	22	11	8	--	--	--	--	--	--
Grapes only	43	8	1	--	17	12	15	19	--	--	10	56
Cotton, potatoes	48	9	27	12	9	6	5	7	3	5	4	22
Cotton, grapes	34	7	8	4	16	11	4	5	6	10	--	--
All other two crops	80	15	29	13	31	21	7	9	9	15	4	22
Cotton, potatoes, grapes	28	5	7	3	16	11	5	7	--	--	--	--
All other three crops	66	13	32	15	17	12	15	19	2	3	--	--
Four crops	34	7	11	5	12	8	10	13	1	2	--	--
Five, six, seven crops	29	6	8	4	6	4	14	18	1	2	--	--
All workers	520	100	220	100	145	100	77	100	60	100	18	100

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[a] Includes 425 workers who engaged primarily in seasonal hand work plus 95 more who engaged in it as a secondary activity.

The Mexicans and Spanish Americans are closer to being an overall labor supply. Only one-fourth of them worked only in one crop, usually grapes. Almost one-third of the Mexicans worked in four crops or more as compared to 9 percent of the Anglo-Americans.

Processing, Custom, and Nonfarm Employees

A third group of workers was marginal to agriculture. Forty of these had their major employment in the potato sheds, grape sheds, cotton gins, and other plants which processed farm products. Some of these plants were operated by large growers, other were conducted as nonfarm operations. Usually the shed or gin work was seasonal so many of these workers also did some seasonal work in the field. Ten workers were either independent contractors who performed special farm operations or were employees of these contractors. They did hauling, spraying, land leveling, or other farm jobs. They did not regard themselves as farm workers, but as people who performed a business service.

The Farm Worker Household

Before the expansion of cotton operations during the twenties, single workers were the major element in the hired farm labor force in the County.[1/] During the thirties the influx of dust bowl families and the increase in cotton production united to cause the family to become the basic work unit. However, family employment is declining again as heads of households change to general farm work. In those families the wife and children are no longer able to work with the head and have no one to guide them into seasonal farm employment. Unless the family is large, their work is not needed and the children continue in school. Legislative restrictions are also making it more difficult for women and youth to continue in farm work.

A total of 361 households were contacted and interviewed in the survey. Single workers in grape or other camps were regarded as separate households if each worker was economically independent. Single workers who had become part of a household to the extent that they were not a distinct economic unit,

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[1/] Parker, Carleton H., The Casual Laborer and Other Essays, Harcourt, Brace, and Howe, New York, 1920. Describes the seasonal workers in California during the early part of the century. Then San Francisco and Los Angeles were the headquarters for single migratory workers who moved from one harvest to another. Spanish American families moved in during the twenties.

were included as a part of that household. A total of 39 single workers were classified as separate economic units.

Of the farm labor households in the sample, slightly less than half (48 percent) were Anglo-American, a scant one-fourth were Spanish American, approximately 15 percent were Negro, and 9 percent were Mexican (Table 5). A few Filipino and Puerto Rican workers also had families. Practically all the older Filipinos were single, but most of those who had come to the United States in recent years had families. Most of the Puerto Rican workers were single young men who were new to the area, but a few had managed to save enough to bring all or part of their families to Kern County.

The average size of household was 4.5 persons as compared to 3.4 persons in the Nation generally. Mexican households averaged 5.5 persons (Appendix Table 2). Households with seven or more members were almost four times as frequent as in the general population, 23 percent of the total as compared to 6 percent in the nation. Forty percent of the Mexican households were in this category. Small households were less numerous; 14 percent of the survey households had only two members as compared to 28 percent for the country as a whole. Two-member families in the survey group were usually older people and were most common among Anglo-Americans and Negroes who worked only in the County.

There was an average of 1.9 workers per household, i.e., persons who had worked for pay during the preceding 12 months. Mexican households averaged 2.4 workers per household, while the Negro households averaged only 1.6.

Family Work Pattern

Who works and who doesn't in a farm labor household depends on several circumstances. A common tradition in folk culture has been for the family to work together as a unit in harvest operations. Among Mexican families, a common custom has been that the family works together as a unit until there are children old enough to take the place of the mother in the field. These traditions still guide the decisions in many families as to who should work and the type of work each should do.1/ Better educated families tend to be guided

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1/ Farm labor households represent several types of cultural indoctrination. Some move automatically in the ways of the particular folk culture in which they were reared. Others, such as the Spanish American, are cultural hybrids and blend several ways of life together.

TABLE 5

Household, Persons, and Workers, Kern County, 1961, by Ethnic Group

Item	All workers	Ethnic Group						
		Anglo-American	Spanish American	Mexican[a]	Negro	Filipino[b]	Puerto Rican	Other[c]
Households-number	361	172	80	33	54	14	5	3
Percent of households	100	48	22	9	15	4	1	1
Persons-number	1,637	739	412	181	237	46	9	13
Percent of persons	100	45	25	11	14	3	1	1
Workers-number	696	330	175	79	84	15	6	7
Percent of workers	100	48	25	11	12	2	1	1
Persons per household d/-number	4.5	4.3	5.1	5.5	4.4	3.3	1.8	4.3
Workers per household-number	1.9	1.9	2.2	2.4	1.6	1.1	1.2	2.3

a/ Mexicans admitted to the United States as permanent residents under Public Law 414.

b/ In 1961 some grape camps did not open because of a crop failure in part of the country. This may have cut down on the number of Filipino respondents.

c/ Includes two Japanese and one American Indian family.

d/ Average size of all households in the United States, 3-4 persons.

by the immediate needs of the household -- the economic necessity for the wife and children to work, the number of small children to be cared for, the availability of a baby-sitter.

In almost 40 percent of the farm-labor families, omitting those workers without family attachments, the head of the household was the only one who worked (Appendix Table 3). In families which consisted only of husband and wife it was almost twice as common for both to work, as for the head to be the only worker. In families with children, the most common situation was for the head to be the only one who worked.

As previously indicated, when the husband is employed at year-round farm work he usually is the only one who works. In seasonal work households, work by all those of working age was the common rule. Wives and children in migrant families were more likely to work than those in nonmigrant families.

On the other hand, working wives were more common in the upper income brackets than at the middle income levels. In fact, it often was their earnings that put the family in the higher income bracket. Yet, they were likely to have their own work rather than to assist the husband in his.

Household Status of the Workers

Slightly over half of the farm workers were heads of households, 23 percent were wives, and another 23 percent were their sons or daughters. Two percent were other persons in their households. Of the youth, over half had either completed or left school, and presumably were available for full-time employment.

Women and youth constitute a different labor resource than the heads of households. As previously indicated, one-fourth of the workers were general farm employees, 61 percent were seasonal, and the remainder were processing, custom, or nonfarm (Table 6). This classification assumes a different aspect when the workers are grouped according to household status. Among heads of households, general farm workers were about as numerous as the seasonal, 40 percent as compared to 44; among women and youth 80 percent were seasonal. Fifty-six percent of the heads of households are already in general or nonfarm employment.

Seasonal work in cotton and potatoes has generally been on a family basis, but some men try to avoid cotton chopping and potato picking as being work for women, children, and old people. They try to obtain employment on the mechanical potato digger, in loading or hauling potatoes, or in potato-shed work.

TABLE 6

Major Employment of Farm Workers, Kern County, 1961, by Household Status

Household status	All workers		Major employment							
			General farm work		Seasonal hand work		Processing, custom		Nonfarm	
	number	percent	number	percent	number	percent	number	percent	number	percent
Head	361	100	145	40	159	44	31	9	26	7
Wife	156	100	9	6	120	77	14	9	13	8
School-son	46	100	4	9	40	87	1	2	1	2
School-daughter	24	100	--	--	20	84	2	8	2	8
Nonschool-son	71	100	13	18	55	78	2	3	1	1
Nonschool-daughter	22	100	--	--	21	95	--	--	1	5
Other	16	100	6	38	10	62	--		--	--
All workers	696	100	177	26	425	61	50	7	44	6

School students, housewives, and other people outside the usual farm labor force were more likely to engage in potato picking and cotton chopping than to do other farm work (Appendix Table 4). This is partly because these jobs come at the end of the school year when women and youth are most available for work. Status lines also are less rigid for these operations than for others in the area.

There were significant ethnic differences in regard to family and individual employment. Practically all the Negro, Filipino, and Puerto Rican farm workers were adults (Table 7). On the other hand, almost half of the Mexican workers were below adult age. The proportion of the workers who were heads of households ranged from 79 percent for Filipinos and Puerto Ricans to 42 percent for the Mexican workers.

Grape growers have specialized in using single Filipino workers and have labor camps to accommodate them. The number of Filipinos is now decreasing and more use is being made of Spanish American workers. The latter are less migratory, they marry and settle down in the local farm labor communities. They like to use their entire families in their work, so thay are changing the nature of the labor force in grape operations.

The opposite trend is occurring in the other major crops. As cotton and potato operations are more completely mechanized, the amount of work available for Anglo women and youth will be reduced to only a fraction of what it is today. Only adult males can find employment in cotton operations, and relatively few women are used on potato equipment.

Age

Workers in the Kern County farm labor force were relatively young. Almost one-third were under 25 years old and over half were under 35 (Table 8). This is partially due to the recent migrants from Mexico. Two-thirds of them were under 35 years old. The small number of older workers also points to a shift of farm workers to other lines of employment. On the other hand, all but a few of the Filipino workers were over 45 years old.

The proportion of children in the labor force, however, was not high. Only 4 percent of the workers were under 15 years of age. This was due to rigid enforcement of school attendance and child labor laws in California. Some of the workers considered going to other states because they wanted their children

TABLE 7

Household Status of Farm Workers, Kern County, 1961,
by Ethnic Group

Household status	Ethnic group											
	All workers		Anglo-American		Spanish American		Mexican		Negro		Other	
	number	percent	number	percent	number	percent	number	percent	number	percent	number	percent
Head	361	52	172	52	30	46	33	42	54	64	22	79
Wife	156	23	35	26	34	19	11	14	24	29	2	7
School-son	46	7	23	7	19	11	--	--	4	5	--	--
School-daughter	24	3	11	3	7	4	4	5	2	2	--	--
Nonschool-son	71	10	29	9	21	12	17	22	--	--	4	14
Nonschool-daughter	22	3	6	2	9	5	7	9	--	--	--	--
Other	16	2	4	1	5	3	7	8	--	--	--	--
All workers	696	100	330	100	175	100	79	100	84	100	28	100

TABLE 8

Age of Farm Workers, Kern County, 1961, by Ethnic Group, Major Employment, Household Status and Migrancy

Group	Workers		Workers in each age group						
			Under 15	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65 and over
	number	percent	percent						
Ethnic group									
Anglo-American	328	100	4	25	19	19	19	12	2
Spanish American	173	100	6	34	17	19	14	9	1
Mexican	77	100	4	36	27	18	13	1	1
Negro	84	100	2	15	23	25	13	17	5
Other	28	100	--	21	11	7	25	36	--
Major employment									
General farm work	176	100	--	17	20	24	23	14	2
Seasonal hand work	420	100	6	32	18	17	14	11	2
Processing, custom	50	100	2	24	24	22	20	6	2
Nonfarm	44	100	--	20	27	23	16	14	--
Household status									
Head	356	100	--	9	22	23	24	18	4
Wife	156	100	--	15	27	28	20	10	--
School-son	46	100	39	61	--	--	--	--	--
School-daughter	24	100	21	79	--	--	--	--	--
Nonschool-son	70	100	3	91	6	--	--	--	--
Nonschool-daughter	22	100	5	77	18	--	--	--	--
Other	16	100	9	23	27	32	5	4	--
Migrancy									
Local nonmigrant	373	100	2	22	19	19	20	15	3
Outmigrant	120	100	7	27	19	22	12	12	1
Inmigrant	197	100	5	37	22	17	13	6	--
All workers	690[a]	100	4	27	19	19	17	12	2
Number of workers	690	--	28	187	135	132	115	80	13

[a] Age was not ascertained for six workers.

to work. They not only earned more when the entire family worked, but they regarded this as the way to teach their children habits of industry.

Four out of five of the youth under 15 who did farm work during the year were boys. The largest proportion came from Spanish American families but the proportion was almost as high among the Mexicans and Anglo-Americans. Ordinarily they worked as part of the family group picking or chopping cotton, picking prunes, or doing similar seasonal farm work.

Thirty-eight percent of the seasonal workers were under 25 years old as compared to 17 percent of the general farm workers. The shift toward general farm work greatly reduces (1) work opportunities for youth and (2) much of the problem of child labor. Mechanization, then, tends to add to the responsibility to keep youth in school.

Educational Level

The average educational level of the entire group of farm workers is almost meaningless because of educational differences between age groups. Half of those under 25 years old had some high school education, but none of those 65 years old or over had any education past the sixth grade; over half had no education past the second grade (Table 9). Educational oppporunity for members of this group has increased greatly during recent years, and they are taking advantage of it.

The recent migrants from Mexico had significantly less education than members of all other ethnic groups *in the survey.* Only 6 percent had any education past the grade school. Over half had no education past the fourth grade. By comparison, one-third of the members of other ethnic groups had some education past the grade school level, and more than four-fifths (83 percent) of the Anglo-Americans had above a fourth grade education.

Those basic lines of difference are reflected in the higher educational levels of nonmigrants as compared to inmigrants, and of general farm workers as compared to seasonal workers. Seasonal farm work and migrancy are still at variance with educational opportunity.

Occupational Background

Over half of the heads of households in the sample either had some experience in nonfarm work in previous years, or were still engaging in it at the

TABLE 9

Number Years of School Attendance, Farm Workers, Kern County, 1961,
by Ethnic Group, Age, Major Employment, and Migrancy

Group	Workers		Workers who attended school for a stated number of years							
			None	1-2	3-4	5-6	7-8	9-10	11-12	Over 12
	number	percent	percent							
Ethnic group										
Anglo-American	320	100	2	2	14	14	36	18	12	2
Spanish American	165	100	5	6	16	19	22	16	15	1
Mexican	79	100	14	9	33	24	14	4	1	1
Negro	84	100	3	3	18	15	27	14	19	1
Other	28	100	14	11	7	7	25	18	14	4
Age group										
Under 25	206	100	1	1	6	11	29	32	18	2
25 - 44	263	100	5	4	23	14	29	11	13	1
45 - 64	192	100	7	9	18	26	27	6	6	1
65 and over	15	100	13	41	13	33	--	--	--	--
Major employment										
General farm work	173	100	4	4	14	18	30	15	13	2
Seasonal hand work	409	100	5	5	19	16	28	16	10	1
Processing, custom	50	100	2	2	10	16	32	20	16	2
Nonfarm	44	100	2	--	18	12	32	9	25	2
Migrancy										
Local nonmigrant	368	100	4	4	15	16	29	17	14	1
Local outmigrant	116	100	2	4	14	16	36	16	8	4
Seasonal inmigrant	159	100	8	4	20	16	27	14	11	--
Permanent inmigrant	33	100	6	9	28	21	18	6	12	--
All workers	676	100	4	4	17	16	29	16	12	2
Number of workers	676[a]	--	30	28	114	111	195	105	83	10

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[a] No report on grade status of 20 workers.

time of the survey. Only 44 percent had always been in farm employment or farm operation (Table 10).

At the time of the survey 15 percent of the household heads were part-time farm workers and shifted seasonally between employment in cotton gins, packing sheds, or other seasonal nonfarm operations and work at irrigating, driving farm equipment, or other farm jobs. Usually they regarded themselves as nonfarm workers.

Around 40 percent of the household heads had some nonfarm work in their background but had performed none during the past 12 months. Many of these had dropped back from sawmill, timber, oil field, or construction work during the past three or four years. These included 16, or 4 percent, who had shifted from such employment during the 12 months prior to the time they were interviewed.

Almost three-fourths of the Negro household heads had been in nonfarm employment at one time. For most of them this had been a number of years ago, but several had dropped out of construction work during the past year. A majority of the Spanish American, Mexican, and Filipino household heads had no nonfarm experience. Some of the Mexicans and Filipinos had left their farms in their native country earlier in the season and were making their start as hired farm workers in the United States.

A majority of both the household heads who were year-round workers and those who were seasonal farm workers had no nonfarm experience. It was the short-term regular workers who raised the percentage of household heads with nonfarm employment.

MIGRANCY

Part of the farm work force in Kern County is purely local, part of it is the seasonal work force which engages in cotton, potato, and fruit operations over the western and southwestern parts of the United States. Both are directly affected by the shift to mechanized methods.

Migrancy has many aspects. If it is broadly defined, almost all the households in the survey could be classified as migratory. Only seven of the 361 household heads had been born in Kern County. The rest had moved in from various parts of the world, and were either at various stages in the settling process, or were there only for the work season. On the other hand, a total of 214 of the households, or 59 percent, had come to regard Kern County as their home and

TABLE 10

Occupational Background of Heads of Farm Worker Households, Kern County, 1961,
by Ethnic Group and Major Employment

Group	Household heads		Household heads with an occupational background of				
				Some type of nonfarm experience			
			Farm work only a/	Total	Make seasonal shift between farm and nonfarm work b/	Shifted from non-farm-to-farm work during 1960-61 c/	Other nonfarm experience
	number	percent	percent				
Ethnic group							
Anglo-American	172	100	36	64	21	5	38
Spanish American	80	100	55	45	9	4	32
Mexican	33	100	64	36	6	3	27
Negro	54	100	28	72	15	9	48
Other	22	100	73	27	--	--	27
Major employment of head							
Year-round	76	100	54	46	--	--	46
Short-term regular	69	100	33	67	29	--	38
Seasonal	159	100	57	43	8	1	34
Processing, custom	31	100	16	84	42	--	42
Nonfarm	26	100	--	100	31	46	23
All household heads	361	100	44	56	15	4	37
Number household heads	361	--	158	203	53	16	134

a/ Includes seven workers who shifted from farm operation to farm work during 1960-61.

b/ Usually between seasonal work in processing and farm labor.

c/ Due to slump in nonfarm employment.

had not left it to work elsewhere during the previous year (Appendix Table 5). They have been classified as local nonmigrants (see Figure 2).

Outmigrants

Workers who regarded Kern County as their home and went elsewhere during the year to work were labeled as outmigrants. Kern County serves as the home base for workers who do seasonal farm work in many areas in California, Oregon, and Washington. They winter there so as to be on hand for the first seasonal activities in the valley area. Sixty of the 361 families in the survey were in this group. Yet in almost two-thirds of these families the head was the only one to leave. Many of them moved into adjoining counties to work in the grapes. When the entire family migrated, it was more likely to move north during the summer -- or school vacation months -- and work in several areas and crops. The recent changes in the nature of this migration are probably due to child labor and school attendance laws. Families who wished to avoid these laws migrated to states with less strict regulations.

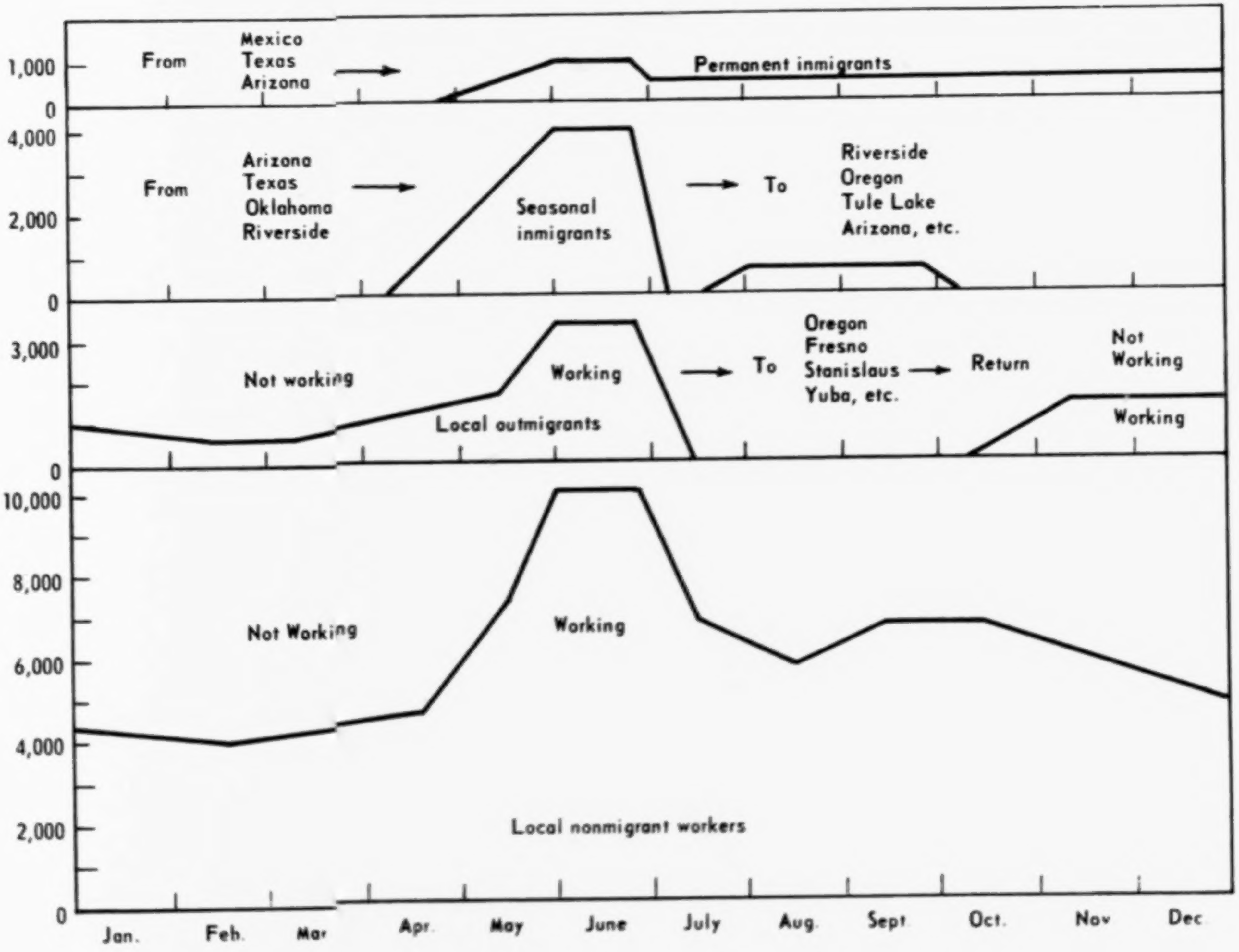
Inmigrants

Migration of households into Kern County can be classified into two different types -- first, movement of a household to the County with the intention to stay, and second, seasonal movement to the area with the intention to leave when the work season ends. Either of these types of movement can shift to the other, depending on the circumstances experienced in the new location. These families have been labeled as inmigrants; those who came in to stay as permanent inmigrants, and those who came in to work in the potatoes, grapes, or other crops and then planned to leave, as seasonal.

There was an in-between group, those inmigrant families who had moved into the County previous to the last 12 months, but who still regarded Texas, Mexico, or another outside area as their home. They were still unsettled and might move to wherever the opportunities appeared to be better. Some were underemployed and had a precarious foothold, others had settled to the extent that they were saving money to bring other members of their families to the County. These inmigrants are somewhat more stable than the strictly seasonal inmigrants but have been included in that category in subsequent tables.

Four out of five of the permanent inmigrant families came from outside California. They are the groups that replenish the farm labor force in the

FIGURE 2. HIRED AGRICULTURAL WORK FORCE
Kern County, 1961



area. Local officials indicated that this movement had not been checked by mechanization of the cotton harvest. On the other hand, seasonal migration into the County to pick cotton had ended.

The majority of the seasonal inmigrants had a home base at which they lived and worked during the busy season. During the slack period there they moved to other areas, including Kern County, to engage in seasonal farm work. Entire family migration was still the rule among seasonal inmigrants. This probably was due to the fact that cotton chopping and potato picking lend themselves to family effort. Furthermore, much of it comes during the vacation months.

Extent of Migrancy

A simple classification of the families into migrant and nonmigrant is not adequate. One aspect of their migrancy during the past 12 months is as follows:

Families that migrated -- 70 -- 19.4 percent of total
Household heads who migrated without their families -- 63 -- 17.5 percent
Migrant families that migrated to one area only -- 34 -- 48.5 percent
Migrant families that migrated to more than one area -- 36 -- 51.4 percent
Migrant heads who migrated to one area only -- 45 -- 71.4 percent
Migrant heads who migrated to more than one area -- 18 -- 28.6 percent.

Extensive migration was more common among the new families from Texas, Oklahoma, and other states. It probably is one phase of the settling process. As families learn where they can do better, they restrict their movement. If they can obtain sufficient employment in one area, they stay there.

As previously indicated, migrancy is closely associated with certain crops and operations. All of the peach pickers in the County, 83 percent of the potato pickers, and 70 percent of the peach thinners were either inmigrants or outmigrants. (Appendix Table 6.) By comparison only 50 percent of the cotton pickers and 42 percent of the cotton choppers were either in or outmigrant.

There were several established paths of movement. The established paths were: first, the movement of potato migrants between West Coast potato areas; second, the movement of grape workers to Fresno County; and third, the movement of fruit workers to San Joaquin County, the Napa and Yuba areas, or Oregon. Many workers from Texas and Arizona made a season trip to Kern

County and other parts of the Pacific Coast, but very few workers went from Kern County to Texas or Arizona (Table 11) (Figure 3).[1]

The most highly specialized of the migrant groups are the "potato migrants." They spend the entire year moving from one potato harvest to another. When the potato season is over in Kern County they move to the Chino, Perris, and Hemet areas in Riverside and San Bernardino Counties. Then they move to the Tulelake-Klamath Falls areas on the California-Oregon border. They may also move to the Redmond area of Oregon before going back to the Riverside area for fall potatoes. The women and children may be especially skillful in potato picking while the men engage in hauling and in potato-shed operations. Potato picking is being mechanized at varying rates in the different potato areas depending on the adaptability of the machines to local soil conditions. So these patterns of movement may soon change.

Relationship of Migrancy to Ethnic and Other Factors

A comparison of the migrancy of the various ethnic groups in the labor force indicated that the Negroes were much less migratory than members of the other groups. Eighty-five percent of the negroes remained in Kern County throughout the year. Only 5 percent left to work elsewhere while 10 percent moved in (Table 12).

As might be expected, over three-fourths of the Mexicans were inmigrants. The high proportion of Mexicans in the inmigrant group coincides with the fact that inmigrants were relatively young, had less schooling, and ordinarily had a background of farm work only.

Only 12 percent of the general farm workers were migrants. They were specialists in handling cotton, potato, or other equipment.

Workers who remained in Kern County worked in fewer crops on the average than those who were migratory. Seventy percent of those who worked in cotton only were local residents who did not leave the County. Migrancy among potato and grape workers was much higher -- approximately 60 percent. Migrancy was positively associated with work in a wide variety of crops. Most of these workers were inmigrants and worked in a number of crops elsewhere, usually in Texas.

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[1] The routes of migratory workers in the area are described in The Agricultural Labor Force in the San Joaquin Valley, California by William H. Metzler and Afife F. Sayin, U.S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, 1950.

FIGURE 3. GENERALIZED MOVEMENT OF DOMESTIC MIGRATORY FAMILIES EMPLOYED IN Kern County, 1961

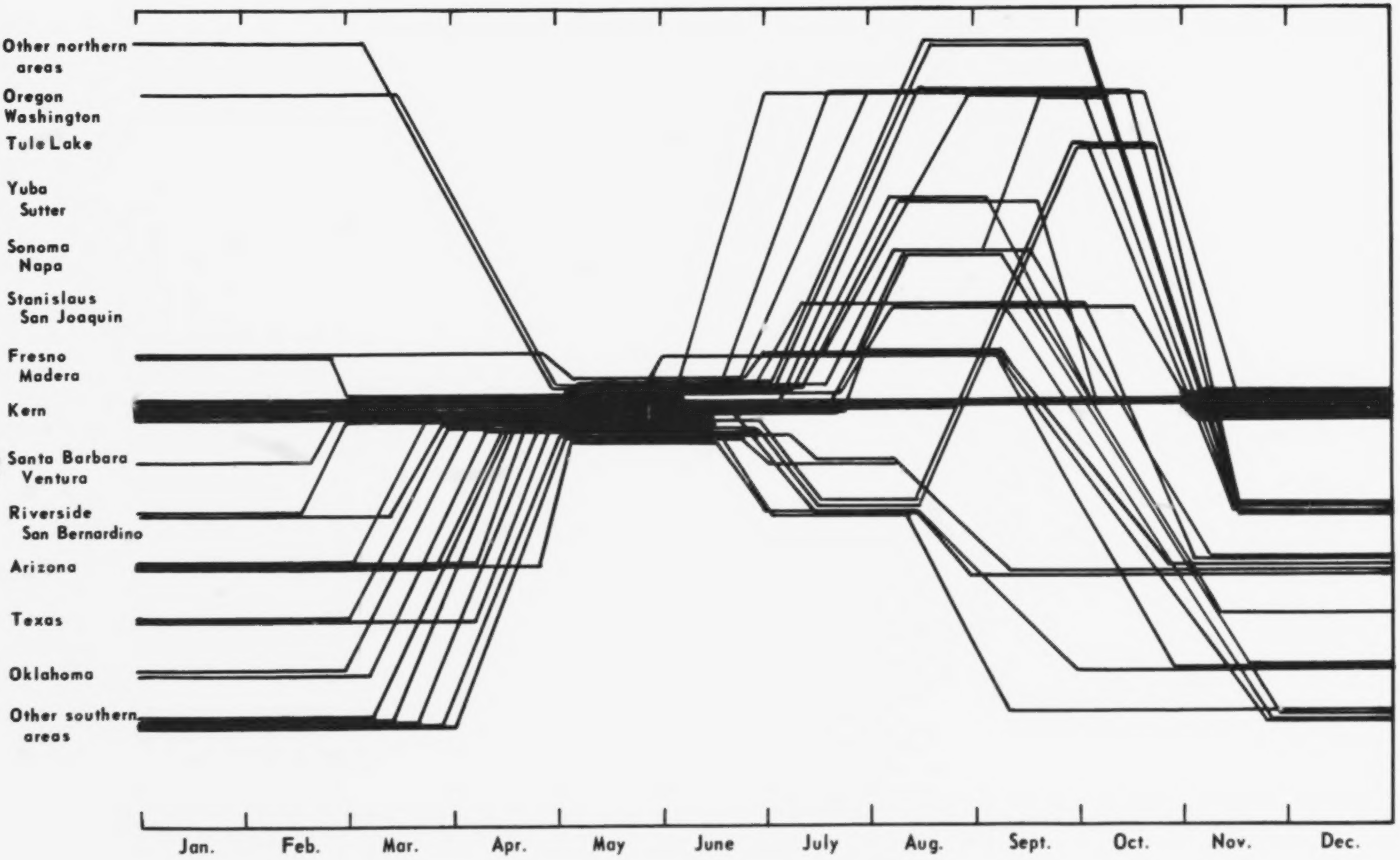

TABLE 11

Workers Who Worked in Other States and Counties During the Previous Year, Kern County, 1961

State, counties in California	Workers who worked there a/ Total	Heads	Other members
	number		
State			
Arizona	43	17	26
Oregon	41	14	27
Texas	35	13	22
Oklahoma	23	7	16
Arkansas	7	2	5
Washington	7	4	3
Other state or country b/	7	7	--
County in California			
Riverside-San Bernardino-Los Angeles	49	25	24
Fresno	35	14	21
Yuba-Butte	25	8	17
Madera-Merced-Stanislaus	22	12	10
Tulare-Kings	19	9	10
San Joaquin-Sacramento	17	10	7
Siskiyou-Shasta	14	8	6
San Benito-Santa Clara-Monterey-Santa Cruz	16	9	7
Napa-Sonoma	12	5	7
Santa Barbara-San Luis Obispo	9	7	2
Imperial-San Diego	4	4	--

a/ Individual workers, not families.

b/ Two from Phillipine Islands, one each from Colorado, Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, and Puerto Rico.

TABLE 12

Migrancy of Farm Workers, Kern County, 1961, by Ethnic Group, Age, Major Employment of Head, Household Status, Crop Specialization, and Education

Group	Total workers reporting		Migrancy of workers							
			Local nonmigrant		Local outmigrant		Inmigrant			
							Seasonal		Permanent	
	number	percent	number	percent	number	percent	number	percent	number	percent
Ethnic group										
Anglo-American	330	100	179	54	79	24	70	21	2	1
Spanish American	175	100	102	58	25	15	42	24	6	3
Mexican	79	100	8	10	8	10	44	56	19	24
Negro	84	100	71	85	4	5	5	5	4	5
Other	28	100	13	46	4	15	9	32	2	7
Age										
Under 25	215	100	93	43	39	18	72	34	11	5
25 - 44	267	100	139	52	49	18	66	25	13	5
45 - 64	195	100	129	66	29	15	31	16	6	3
65 and over	19	100	12	63	3	16	1	5	3	16
Major employment of head										
Year-round	124	100	109	88	--	--	11	9	4	3
Short-term regular	127	100	67	53	37	29	21	16	2	2
Seasonal	333	100	140	42	66	20	109	33	18	5
Processing, custom	63	100	34	54	14	22	15	24	--	--
Nonfarm [a]	49	100	23	47	3	6	14	29	9	18
Household status										
Head	361	100	213	59	62	17	71	20	15	4
Wife	156	100	93	60	25	16	34	22	4	2
School youth	70	100	31	44	20	29	13	19	6	8
Nonschool youth	93	100	36	39	12	13	43	46	2	2
Other	16	100	--	--	1	6	9	56	6	38
Crop specialization[a]										
Cotton only	99	100	69	70	15	15	12	12	3	3
Potatoes only	59	100	23	39	12	20	18	31	6	10
Grapes only	43	100	18	42	6	14	9	21	10	23
Cotton, potatoes	48	100	19	40	10	20	19	40	--	--
Other two crops	114	100	56	49	18	16	36	31	4	4
Three crops	99	100	42	43	21	21	33	33	3	3
Four, five, six, seven crops	63	100	11	17	13	21	37	59	2	3
Years in school[b]										
Under 3	58	100	27	46	7	12	19	33	5	9
3 - 4	114	100	57	50	16	14	32	28	9	8
5 - 6	111	100	59	54	19	17	26	23	7	6
7 - 8	195	100	105	53	42	22	42	22	6	3
9 - 10	105	100	62	59	18	17	23	22	2	2
11 and over	93	100	58	63	14	15	17	18	4	4
All workers	696	100	373	54	120	17	170	24	33	5

[a] Does not include 171 workers who did not engage in seasonal farm work.

[b] No data on 20 workers.

When Farm Labor Households Came to Kern County

Movement by the farm labor households into Kern County has been relatively recent. Over half first came to the County since 1954 (Table 13). Only one-sixth came in prior to 1940 and only seven of the heads of households were born here. Very few of these families, then, are the "Okies" and "Arkies" who came to California during the "dust bowl" migrations. Nor are they the children of those migrants. They are new families whose incoming, according to observers, was frequently related to the Korean War.

Movement of the non-Anglo groups into the County has followed different patterns. Over one-fourth of the Spanish American families had come into the County before 1940. On the other hand, four-fifths of the Mexicans have come in since 1955. The movement of the Negro families into the County was strongest in the post-World War II period. Less than half have come in since 1950. Most of the Filipino workers first came in prior to 1940, but a number of families have come in during the past several years. Some of the latter have come direct from the Philippine Islands.

Movement of the local nonmigrant families into the County has occurred over a period of several decades. Of the inmigrants, however, over 70 percent first came to the County during the past seven years. While the settling process works somewhat slowly, the proportion of long-time rovers is very small.

Families in the lowest income brackets tend to have come to the County within the past seven years. An exception exists in cases of families with a total income of under $1,000. Approximately one-fourth of them came to the area prior to 1940. They are composed of old people who are only able to do a small amount of farm work.

Home Area of the Farm Workers

Three-fourths of the heads of farm worker households reported that Kern County was their home (Table 14). This included all the local nonmigrants, and all but one of the local outmigrants. He, as in the case of several other household heads, moved annually between two counties. In his case even though he wintered in Kern County, he owned property in Riverside County. There are times during a shift in residence when workers have difficulty in determining whether the old or the new location is their home.

TABLE 13

Year When Farm Worker Households First Came to Kern County, by Ethnic Group, Migrancy, Major Employment of Head and Household Income a/

Group	Households		Households that first came to this area					
			Before 1940 b/	1940-44	1945-49	1950-54	1955-59	Since 1959 c/
	number	percent	percent					
Ethnic group								
Anglo-American	172	100	13	12	16	28	23	8
Spanish American	80	100	28	6	17	10	28	11
Mexican	33	100	--	--	--	18	55	27
Negro	54	100	15	13	30	13	24	5
Other	22	100	23	9	--	14	36	18
Migrancy								
Local nonmigrant	214	100	19	10	22	24	23	2
Local outmigrant	60	100	22	15	8	17	23	15
Inmigrant	87	100	6	5	6	12	43	28
Major employment of head								
Year-round	76	100	16	11	21	29	22	1
Short-term regular	69	100	13	9	19	20	32	7
Seasonal	159	100	17	8	11	16	32	16
Other	57	100	16	16	19	21	17	11
Household income								
Under $1,000	41	100	24	12	17	7	20	20
1,000 - 1,999	80	100	11	10	7	19	33	20
2,000 - 2,999	86	100	16	8	20	19	30	7
3,000 - 3,999	68	100	15	10	18	28	23	6
4,000 - 4,999	48	100	17	10	17	23	29	4
5,000 and up	38	100	18	8	19	21	29	5
All households	361	100	16	10	16	20	28	10
Number of households	361	--	59	35	57	72	101	37

a/ Entire household usually came at same time. In case of a difference, time recorded was for head.
b/ Includes seven household heads who were born in Kern County.
c/ Averages on 18-month period.

TABLE 14

Home Area of Farm Worker Households, Kern County, 1961, by Ethnic Group and Migrancy

Group	Households		Households whose home area was								
			California		Other state				Outside continental United States		Uncertain
			Kern County	Other county	Texas	Oklahoma	Arizona	Other state	Mexico	Other	
	number	percent	percent								
Ethnic group											
Anglo-American	172	100	83	2	2	5	1	3	--	--	4
Spanish American	80	100	77	4	12	1	6	--	--	--	--
Mexican	33	100	27	3	27	--	3	--	40	--	--
Negro	54	100	94	2	--	--	--	2	--	--	2
Other	22	100	53	14	--	5	5	--	--	9	14
Migrancy											
Local nonmigrant	214	100	100	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Local outmigrant	60	100	98	2	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Inmigrant a/	87	100	--	13	26	13	10	8	15	2	13
All households	361	100	76	3	6	3	2	2	4	1	3
Number of households	361	--	274	11	23	11	9	7	13	2	11

a/ Includes 16 households that were moving into Kern County permanently.

A higher proportion of the Negroes, 94 percent, felt that they were permanent residents of Kern County than members of any other ethnic group, but the percentage of Anglo-Americans and Spanish Americans was almost as high.

About half of the Filipinos and Puerto Ricans reported that they had become permanent residents, and only one-fourth of the Mexicans. Another one-fourth of the Mexican workers reported that Texas was their home, while 40 percent still regarded themselves as residents of Mexico. Although these "green card" Mexicans had become permanent residents of the United States, some were still more closely attached to Mexico than to this country.1/ Some spent the winter months in Mexico or Texas, while a few tried to live and work in Kern County the year around.

Partially because of the Mexican workers, one-fourth of the immigrants reported that their homes were in Texas and another 15 percent that their homes were in Mexico.

Attachment to a home area is a highly variable characteristic. Some workers have very definite home fixations while others have developed an attitude of detachment. Some workers took pride in their mobility and claimed their home was "where their hat is." Questioning frequently indicated that such workers had left Texas, Oklahoma, or Arkansas a number of years ago, but did not wish to disclose their "Okie" background. Others took pride in having returned to one of those states every winter for six, eight, or ten years and still reported it as their home. Workers who have developed definite migration routes are sometimes uncertain as to which of their work areas should be designated as their home.

Home Ownership

The settling process of farm labor households in Kern County tends to go through a number of stages. When they first arrive they are likely to live in a labor camp of some type, one of the large grower association camps, a grape camp, or a cabin at the headquarters of a labor contractor. The next move is to rent a cabin or house in the farm labor section of one of the cities or towns close to their place of employment. The next move is to buy or build a home of

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1/ Gallardo, Lloyd L., Immigration from Mexico, Department of Labor, January 1963. States that many of the green cards are not real immigrants but have used this type of entry in order to be able to work in the United States.

their own. Most of the houses in the farm labor sections of cities in Kern County have been built by the workers during the slack season of the year. Although these houses are simple and not always well-kept, the workers express a high degree of satisfaction with them.

Thirty percent of the families interviewed owned a home, 19 percent in Kern County, and 11 percent at some other location (Appendix Table 7). Home ownership was more common both among the Spanish American and the Negro families than among the Anglo. Ownership of homes in Kern County was twice as great among the nonmigrant households as it was among those who moved away seasonally. Almost half of the immigrants stated that they owned a home. This ordinarily would be in Texas, Oklahoma, or Arkansas.

Workers primarily in nonfarm work were inclined more toward home ownership than those whose major work was on farms. Yet home ownership did not vary according to the size of the household income. It varied to a greater extent with ethnic background.

EMPLOYMENT

People who have become accustomed to thinking in terms of an exact schedule of work -- e.g., from eight to five o'clock for five or six days a week -- have difficulty in understanding the irregular employment of the farm worker. Seasonal farm workers, in particular, work according to the weather, the ripening of the crop, and the delays in hauling and processing. They may be hauled to a field at five o'clock in the morning, but be unable to work until nine o'clock because of the heavy dew. They may finish picking one field of peas or tomatoes by ten o'clock in the morning but find that the next field will not be ready to harvest for several days. Many have a succession of short jobs interspersed with short periods of unemployment rather than to have continuous work at one job throughout the season.

Hence, the task of accurately reporting days and hours worked during the previous 12 months was difficult. Fortunately some workers had weekly time and earning slips which had been supplied to them by their labor contractors, and these provided exact records in regard to days and hours worked at various types of jobs. Workers who had to rely on their memory provided estimates which were more highly generalized, and they understated the number of part-days, delays, and other time lost. Their estimates tended to run somewhat higher than the time shown by those workers who had time slips.

Ability to remember jobs held during the 12 months prior to the survey was very good. Specialization in one or two types of farm work was more common than to engage in varied types of casual and general labor. A few farm workers had "odd jobs" employment during the slack season and in their cases estimates had to be rough.

Characteristics of the Survey Period which Affected Employment

The 12-month period of work prior to the interviews included some work in 1960 and some in 1961. Crop and employment conditions for both the 1960 and 1961 seasons, therefore, affected the amount of employment reported. In 1960 the spring work season was almost two weeks late because of unseasonably cold weather in April and May. Potato acreage and production, however, were above normal. Cotton operations were late and more work was available in the late months of 1960 and in January 1961 than is normal.

Several factors tended to reduce the amount of employment available during 1961. This season, too, was late, so less work was available in late April and early May. A break in potato prices in May 1961 caused some potato growers to delay harvesting, and others to quit altogether. Others increased their use of mechanical harvesting equipment in an effort to reduce costs. So employment in potatoes was below normal. A heat wave in June burned the grapes in the southeastern part of the County and reduced the amount of employment in that crop. In addition to these weather and market hazards, some labor contractors and growers refused to hire women because of the new legal requirements in regard to women's work. Some women dropped out of the labor market completely, so the number of women workers and the amount of their highly seasonal employment was reduced.

These factors tend to balance off to somewhat less employment than in an ideal year. Yet a similar set of vicissitudes are practically a normal part of any crop season. From the standpoint of amount of employment, then, these seasons were not abnormal.

Average Length of Employment

The workers in the farm labor households had an average of 140 days of work during the previous 12 months (Table 15). Heads of households averaged 191 days, wives 80 days, school youth 52 days, and nonschool youth 130 days.

TABLE 15

Average Number of Days Worked During Previous Year, Farm Workers, Kern County, 1961, by Household Status, Major Employment, Ethnic Group, Migrancy, and Crop Specialty

Group	All workers	Average number of days worked					
			Household status				
		All workers	Head	Wife	School youth	Nonschool youth	Other
Major employment							
General farm work	177	233	246	224	85	150	60
Seasonal hand work	425	101	138	67	50	129	110
Processing, custom	50	125	180	67	27	78	42
Nonfarm	44	158	171	152	60	155	--
Ethnic group							
Anglo-American	330	147	204	79	46	144	80
Spanish American	175	129	188	77	54	109	101
Mexican	79	131	150	86	70	148	117
Negro	84	135	171	75	62	--	83
Other	28	178	196	205	--	66	--
Migrancy							
Local nonmigrant	373	154	212	81	46	124	26
Local outmigrant	120	122	164	72	56	134	129
Inmigrant	203	126	158	82	57	144	118
Crop specialty							
Cotton only	99	76	130	48	40	120	47
Potatoes only	59	82	146	46	49	101	--
Grapes only	43	119	157	75	20	110	110
Cotton, potatoes	48	116	153	80	42	117	--
Cotton, grapes	34	106	140	70	66	94	--
All other two crops	80	120	158	75	22	123	82
Cotton, potatoes, grapes	28	108	146	99	74	180	68
All other three crops	66	140	162	102	68	137	167
Four crops	34	132	143	135	63	151	128
Five, six, seven crops	29	154	154	114	--	160	128
Noncrop workers	176	227	254	159	76	142	38
All workers	696	140[a]	191	80	52	130	103

[a] Average days of work for farm workers in the Nation as a whole in 1961 was 108. The average in the northeast area was 138, in the north central area 127, in the South 91, and in the West 133. Samuel Baum, Reed E. Friend, and Robert R. Stansberry, Jr., *The Hired Farm Working Force of 1961*, U.S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, 1963.

General farm workers had an average of 233 days, seasonal workers 101 days. The latter figure is affected by the large proportion of women and children in this line of work. Yet, seasonal workers who were household heads averaged only 138 days of employment.

Low employment was particularly common among workers who limited their activities to work in cotton or potatoes only. In some cases there was a reason for specialization in cotton. Partially retired older men or women often chopped or picked cotton because it had always been a part of their annual routine. Women and children engaged in it for a similar reason. Workers who worked only in cotton operations averaged 76 days of work, those in potatoes, 82 days. Grapes, however, afforded more employment, and specialists in grape operations averaged 119 days. At the other extreme, seasonal workers who shifted widely from crop to crop averaged 186 days of work during the year.

These figures have a much broader significance. In the days before mechanization of the cotton harvest, a worker could specialize in hand operations in cotton and obtain around 175 days of employment during the year. Today specialzation in cotton work is rapidly becoming an economic impossibility. In fact, the worker in grapes, potatoes, or other crops who had depended on working in cotton to round out his work year is also at an economic disadvantage. He will have to find new operations which will enable him to have some employment at all seasons of the year.

A rough comparison of the amount of employment of migratory workers in Kern County with that of those along the Atlantic Coast and in the Midcontinent area is as follows:

	Kern County	Atlantic Coast 1/	Midcontinent area 2/
Days worked during the year, all workers	124	182	131
Days worked during the year, heads of households	162	214	174

The Atlantic Coast average is for 1953 and the midcontinent figure for 1956. A comparison can also be made with the amount of employment of farm workers in

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1/ Metzler, William H., Migratory Farm Workers in the Atlantic Coast Stream, Circular No. 966, U.S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, 1955.

2/ Metzler, William H., and Frederic O. Sargent, Migratory Farm Workers in the Midcontinent Streams, Production Research Report No. 41, U.S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, 1960.

the San Joaquin Valley in 1948. These are as follows:

	Kern County 1961	San Joaquin Valley 1948[1]
Days worked during the year, all workers	140	165
Days worked during the year, nonmigratory workers	154	173
Days worked during the year, migratory workers	124	158

Workers Employed Less than 100 Days or over 265 Days

Since average employment figures for the farm work force in the County are strongly affected both by the large number of women and youth involved and the presence of year-round workers, an examination of long- and short-term workers is needed.

Only 7 percent of the general farm workers were employed for less than 100 days as compared to 54 percent of the seasonal workers (Table 16). Almost half of the general farm workers were employed for 265 days or more as compared to only 5 percent of the seasonal workers.

Only 6 percent of the heads of families worked under 100 days as compared to 67 percent of the wives and 93 percent of the school youth. One-third of the heads of households worked over 265 days; none of the wives or school youth worked that long.

A closer examination of the workers who were employed for less than 100 days indicates that a majority of the general farm workers who were employed for less than 100 days were youth (Appendix Table 8). Youth and housewives are also responsible for most of the under-100-day employment among seasonal workers. The underemployment of nonschool youth is highly significant. Instead of having a full year of employment after they leave school, almost half were employed for less than 100 days. Three-fourths of the nonschool youth were young men and would be expected to have moved into more regular employment.

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[1] Metzler, William H., and Afife F. Sayin, The Agricultural Labor Force in the San Joaquin Valley, California, U.S. Department of Agriculture, Washington 1950.

TABLE 16

Farm Workers Who Worked Less than 100 Days, 100 to 264 Days, and 265 Days and Over, During the Previous Year, Kern County, 1961

Group	All workers		Workers employed during year					
			Under 100 days		100-264 days		265 days and over	
	number	percent	number	percent	number	percent	number	percent
Major employment								
General farm work	177	100	12	7	81	46	84	47
Seasonal hand work	425	100	229	54	176	41	20	5
Processing, custom	50	100	23	46	22	44	5	10
Nonfarm	44	100	12	27	23	53	9	20
Household status								
Head	361	100	58	16	186	52	117	32
Wife	156	100	105	67	51	33	--	--
School youth	70	100	65	93	5	7	--	--
Nonschool youth	93	100	41	44	51	55	1	1
Other	16	100	7	44	9	56	--	--
Migrancy								
Local nonmigrant	373	100	145	39	133	36	95	25
Local outmigrant	120	100	51	42	62	52	7	6
Inmigrant	203	100	80	39	107	53	16	8
Ethnic group								
Anglo-American	330	100	126	38	135	41	69	21
Spanish American	175	100	83	47	69	40	23	13
Mexican	79	100	22	25	54	71	3	4
Negro	84	100	37	44	36	43	11	13
Other	28	100	8	29	8	29	12	42
All workers	696	100	276	40	302	43	118	17

Employment Month by Month

Presentation of a month-by-month employment pattern involves several hazards. For some workers, periods of employment are rather short, and some jobs may begin toward the end of one month and stop shortly after the beginning of the next. In the succeeding tables a worker was given credit for working during a particular month if he had worked as many as 12 days during the month. Any 12-day or longer work period that started in one month and ended in another was also credited for the month in which the greater number of days were worked. This method overstates employment to a small extent but it provides a more meaningful measure of seasonality than if only those months with four weeks of employment were included.

In the second place, the reason for not working is not always that there has been no work to do. The conception that such people work whenever there is work to do and look for it the rest of the time is true of only a small percentage of the workers. To classify those who are not working as either in the labor market and looking for work, or out of the labor market, is to ignore their basic habits of life. Much of their work is both monotonous and backbreaking and many workers look forward to a period when they are free from it. Seasonal workers frequently regard no work during the winter months as part of their annual life pattern, but also look forward to starting the work season again in the spring. They have a background of work habits and attitudes that has carried over from the operation of small farms. These are generations old, and call for active effort during the growing and harvesting seasons, and for relaxation during the other parts of the year.

An effort was made, however, to apply the labor market concept to their employment. The housewives and school students were regarded as automatically out of the labor market during the school year. The older workers who worked only during the most active work period, those who stated they had all the work they wanted, and those who made off-season visits to Oklahoma, Texas, or Mexico, have also been classified as marginal workers who were out of the labor market when not working. Those who stated they did not work because "there was nothing to do" were classified as unemployed and available for employment.

The seasonal shifts of workers in and out of the labor market and in and out of employment are shown in Table 17. Over 40 percent of the work force was out of the labor market during the slack months of the year. Of those who remained

TABLE 17

Month-by-Month Employment Status of Farm Workers, Kern County, 1961

Month	All workers who were[a]				Workers in the labor market who were				Workers out of the labor market who were					
	In the labor market		Out of the labor market		Employed[b][c]		Unemployed[c]		Housewives[d]		School youth[d]		Other[d]	
	number	percent	number	percent	number	percent	number	percent	number	percent	number	percent	number	percent
January	412	59	284	41	266	65	146	35	114	40	78	28	92	32
February	395	57	301	43	231	58	164	42	126	42	77	25	98	33
March	405	58	291	42	233	58	172	42	124	43	77	26	90	31
April	425	61	271	39	308	72	117	28	113	42	75	27	83	31
May	535	77	161	23	478	89	57	11	65	40	61	28	35	32
June	593	85	103	15	559	94	34	6	63	61	--	--	40	39
July	539	77	157	23	468	87	71	13	80	51	--	--	77	49
August	505	73	191	27	402	85	103	15	101	53	--	--	90	47
September	497	71	199	29	417	84	80	16	92	46	55	28	52	26
October	490	70	206	30	419	85	71	15	89	43	63	31	54	26
November	441	63	255	37	343	78	98	22	106	42	70	27	79	31
December	425	61	271	39	325	76	100	24	111	41	74	27	86	32

a/ Based on the 696 workers in the sample, those who did any farm work during the year.

b/ For 12 days or more during the designated month. Many of these workers were unemployed for as many as 12 days during the month.

c/ Percentage of all workers who were in the labor market during the month.

d/ Percentages based on all workers who were out of the labor market during the month.

in the labor force, 42 percent were unemployed during those months. The proportion in the labor market mounted to a peak of 85 percent in June and dropped back to 70 percent during the cotton harvest. Unemployment dropped to 6 percent in June but was up to 15 percent during the cotton harvesting season. Stated in terms of the entire labor force, 40 percent of the workers were not working during the period when employment was formerly at its peak.

Both housewives and marginal workers enter the labor force in May and June, and a smaller number in September and October. Actually, many of the housewives would work during other periods of the year if suitable work was available for them. They are accustomed to chopping cotton, picking cotton, and picking potatoes, but have also been accustomed to expect the men to do the more general types of farm work.

The preceding figures are highly generalized because they include both general and seasonal workers. When the workers are classified as to their major type of employment, the data show that almost three-fourths of the general farm workers were employed during the slack period of the year while only one-sixth of the seasonal workers had jobs (Table 18). Ninety-three percent were employed during the peak month as compared to only 75 percent of the seasonal workers. During the former peak cotton season in the fall only half of the seasonal workers were employed. Former cotton pickers reported that "the welfare" would have to take care of them.

Seasonality of employment was also characteristic of the processing and custom workers. One-fourth were employed during the slack season, as compared to three-fourths in the peak month. Nonfarm workers experienced a similar seasonality pattern of employment but not to the same degree. Around 40 percent had employment during the slack season as compared to 86 percent at the peak.

The relationship between crop specialization and underemployment has been mentioned previously. The group of workers in Kern County who have made a living by specializing in cotton, about one-seventh of all workers in the sample, are now significantly underemployed (Appendix Table 9). Seventy percent had work at the height of the chopping season and 49 percent at the height of the picking season. Only 10 to 13 percent had employment during the slack months.

Potato specialization also resulted in a 6-month employment season. Specialization in grapes provided as much employment as was obtained by workers

TABLE 18

Month-by-Month Employment of Farm Workers, Kern County, 1961, by Major Type of Work Done During the Year

Month	Workers employed a/									
	All workers		General farm workers		Seasonal farm workers		Processing and custom workers		Nonfarm workers	
	number	percent	number	percent	number	percent	number	percent	number	percent
January	266	38	132	75	95	22	18	36	21	48
February	231	33	128	72	74	17	12	24	17	39
March	227	33	127	72	68	16	12	24	20	45
April	302	43	139	79	128	30	17	34	18	41
May	478	69	144	81	265	62	31	62	38	86
June	559	80	164	93	320	75	37	74	38	86
July	468	67	158	89	243	57	30	60	37	84
August	402	58	153	86	189	44	26	52	34	77
September	417	60	144	81	215	51	28	56	30	68
October	419	60	147	83	216	51	27	54	29	66
November	343	49	151	85	145	34	21	42	26	59
December	325	47	146	82	131	31	22	44	26	59
All workers	696	100	177	100	425	100	50	100	44	100

a/ Includes all types of work done. Includes as employed all workers who worked for 12 days or more during the designated month.

who combined several other crops. Even the workers who engaged in five or more crops still had two months of severe underemployment. This, however, was largely associated with winter trips back to Mexico or Texas.

Month-by-month employment patterns of family members vary to some extent with ethnic background (Appendix Table 10). Approximately half of the heads of families have employment during the slack months, Anglo-Americans having a slight advantage because of the higher proportion of general farm workers among them. At the peak of employment in June around nine out of ten family heads were employed and again the Anglo heads had an advantage. At the time of the former fall peak in the cotton harvest, about eight out of ten family heads had jobs, and at this time the Negroes had the advantage in employment.

Of the wives who worked, only about one-fifth had employment during the slack months of the year. Close to 60 percent had employment during the cotton chopping-potato picking peak season in June. During the fall months Negro women had more employment because they were willing to work for small wages at scrapping cotton.

Employment of school youth was concentrated in June, July, and August, but some continued to work in the cotton after school had started. Some of this work was done outside the State where enforcement of school laws was less rigid.

The employment level of nonschool youth was very low except for the three peak months of the year. Three-fourths were not working during the slack months. One-third were not employed during the cotton harvest period in the fall. Apparently most of them should be in school rather than to be underemployed in the labor market.

Migration for farm workers is generally an endeavor to obtain more employment. In case of the Kern County workers this endeavor seemed to be successful (Table 19). The period of outmigration for both local and other workers was in July and August. Local outmigrants had more employment during this period than the seasonal workers who remained at home. The seasonal nonmigrant households, however, had more old and relatively immobile workers, and this may account for the difference. Inmigrant workers were comparatively successful in obtaining employment during the peak months, but did not do so well during the fall. Generally, the period of inmigration was during the spring months when more work was available.

TABLE 19

Month-by-Month Employment of Farm Workers, Kern County, 1961, by Migrancy

Month	Workers employed a/							
	Local nonmigrants				Local out-migrants		Inmigrants	
	All workers		Seasonal workers					
	number	percent	number	percent	number	percent	number	percent
January	173	46	41	21	35	29	58	29
February	154	41	26	13	25	21	52	26
March	158	42	31	16	26	22	43	21
April	166	45	27	14	42	35	94	46
May	269	72	125	64	63	52	146	72
June	299	80	135	69	87	72	173	85
July	236	63	78	40	80	67	152	75
August	210	56	57	29	82	68	110	54
September	235	63	91	46	71	59	111	55
October	230	62	83	42	72	60	117	58
November	208	56	57	29	49	41	86	42
December	188	50	42	21	56	47	81	40
All workers	373	100	196	100	120	100	203	100

a/ Employed for 12 days or more during the month.

The employment cycle of both the nonmigrant seasonal workers and the outmigrants point to the necessity for these people to either obtain new lines of work or to move to some area where they can obtain more employment. Their present work situation requires that they resort to public assistance agencies in order to be able to maintain themselves during the slack season of the year.

Reason for Unemployment and Underemployment

All workers who had fewer than 265 days of work during the previous year were asked why they had not worked a full year. In many cases two or more factors entered into the loss of time. A housewife who was out of the labor market for 200 days might also have lost 30 days during the work season because of inability to find work. Hence, a record was taken of both the major and the minor reasons for loss of time.

The enumerator was asked to add his own evaluation of additional circumstances responsible for unemployment, e.g., a worker might be too old, partially disabled, or a wino, and these might be more important than the reasons which he reported. These sometimes provided either the major or the secondary reason.

Of the 696 workers interviewed, 118 or 17 percent, had a full year's work -- 265 days or more (Table 20). If housewives and school students are excluded, they constitute 23 percent of all workers.

Of the 578 workers who had less than 265 days of employment, one-third had dropped out because of school or housework, but 37 percent reported that their major reason for unemployment was inability to obtain more work. An additional 5 percent were workers who were out of work because of unemployment in the nonfarm sector of the economy. They were primarily construction men, truck drivers, and sawmill or oilfield workers who were unable to obtain employment along their line. They had dropped back to do farm work but had not been able to obtain full employment. Others waited until their unemployment compensation had been exhausted before they looked for farm work.

That leaves one-fourth whose major loss of time was due to age, indisposition, injury, vacations, or lack of desire to do more work. Many of these workers do not want employment every day. To obtain a figure as to how many prefer to work sporadically is very difficult, yet there were many evidences of this preference. Some workers left the work area at the height of the busy season, others made trips back to Oklahoma when work was plentiful. Others

TABLE 20

Major Reason Why Workers Worked Less than 265 Days During the Previous 12 Months, Kern County, 1961, by Ethnic Group, Major Employment, Household Status, and Migrancy

Group	Workers[a/]		Major reason given for nonemployment							
			No more work available	No work available in his line	House-wife	School	Age, welfare	Sickness, injury	All work he wanted	Other[b/]
	number	percent	percent							
Ethnic group										
Anglo-American	261	100	29	8	25	13	14	5	5	1
Spanish American	152	100	42	3	18	19	7	2	5	4
Mexican	76	100	50	1	13	9	1	1	1	24
Negro	73	100	35	3	27	8	20	5	1	1
Other	16	100	44	--	6	--	25	6	--	19
Major employment										
General farm work	93	100	55	5	2	5	10	10	5	8
Seasonal hand work	403	100	34	2	25	16	12	2	3	6
Other work	82	100	27	17	26	7	11	5	7	--
Household status										
Head	244	100	56	11	--	1	20	6	5	1
Wife	156	100	8	--	77	--	4	2	4	5
School youth	70	100	7	--	4	83	--	1	1	4
Nonschool youth	92	100	54	4	2	16	4	4	4	12
Other	16	100	38	--	--	--	36	--	--	26
Migrancy										
Local nonmigrant	278	100	29	6	25	14	17	3	4	2
Local outmigrant	113	100	38	7	20	17	7	6	4	1
Inmigrant	187	100	46	2	17	10	6	3	3	13
All workers	578	100	37	5	21	13	11	4	4	5
Number of workers	578	--	211	28	124	76	66	21	22	30

[a/] Includes only those farm workers who had less than 265 days of employment during the previous 12 months.

[b/] Includes self-employed, vacation, trip home, newcomer, weather.

simply stated that they had not tried to get more work or that they disliked work that was too regular.

Almost half of the workers gave no secondary reason for underemployment (Appendix Table 11). They usually were housewives, school youth, or workers who had made no attempt to obtain more employment, and one reason was adequate to cover their nonemployment. When major and minor reasons are totaled, the group who had been unemployed because no more work was available amounts to 52 percent, the group of marginal and aged workers to 16 percent, and the percentage who had all the work they wanted to 13 percent.

Years Worked for Present Employer

Since almost 40 percent of the workers had been in Kern County for less than seven years, some had not been in the area long enough to establish a record of service for one employer. The relatively few long-time residents, however, were often proud of a long period of employment for one employer. Eight of the 361 heads of households had worked for the same employer for 20 years or longer, 19 more had periods of employment running between 10 and 20 years (Appendix Table 12). These general farm workers are the exception to the usual employment pattern.

Over half of the household heads were working for their present employer for the first season. This percentage was partially due to the presence of Mexican workers who were entirely new in the area. The percentage was also raised by the large number of seasonal workers. Seventy-two percent of them had not worked in previous years for their present employer.

Turnover among year-round workers was significantly low. Only 9 percent stated that this was their first year of work for their present employer. This compares with 48 percent for the short-term regular workers.

Around 20 percent of all household heads had worked for their present employer during a period of from three to five years, and 17 percent more for periods longer than that. These facts point to some stability among the workers in the area.

EARNINGS

Workers were questioned in regard to their earnings from each job they held during the year, but were not asked to report other sources of income.

Hence, the income figures reported do not represent the total income of some workers and households. Some families received either social security or unemployment compensation payments, or some type of public assistance grant. In some cases these payments were the major source of income, and earnings from farm work were merely supplemental. The few workers who had done some farming during the year were unable to give a figure on earnings from their farms. Most of them came from Mexico and both their farms and their farm earnings were very small.

Total wage earnings for the previous year of all workers in the survey were $1,032,387. This amounted to an average of $2,860 per household or $1,483 per worker. Earnings per household varied chiefly according to the number of workers in the household and the type of employment. Earnings per worker varied largely because of differences in age and sex, in length of employment, and in type of employment.

Earnings per Day

Average earnings per day worked for all workers was $10.56 (Table 21). There was a wide range in earnings according to household status. School youth averaged $7.92, their mothers $8.41, and heads of households $11.51.

Anglo-American workers averaged slightly more than those of other ethnic groups, $11.21. Anglo household heads averaged $1.00 to $2.00 per day more than their counterparts in other ethnic groups, but differences were less marked for other members of the household.

General farm workers had significantly better earnings per day than seasonal workers and did about as well as workers in packing sheds and in nonfarm employment. Their earnings averaged slightly over $12.00 a day while shed workers averaged $12.83 and nonfarm workers $11.89. The general farm worker, however, averaged approximately two more hours of work per day as compared to members of the other groups. On the other hand, seasonal workers averaged only $8.46 a day.

Mechanics, technicians, and foremen were paid at higher rates. Heads of households in this work averaged $14.30 a day. Custom workers sometimes reported higher earnings per day, but they usually supplied hauling or other equipment so their returns were not all for labor.

TABLE 21

Average Earnings per Day Worked During Previous Year, Farm Workers, Kern County, 1961, by Household Status, Major Employment, Ethnic Group, Migrancy, and Crop Specialty

Group	Workers	Average dollars per day worked					
		All workers	Household status				
			Head	Wife	School youth	Nonschool youth	Other
	number						
Major employment							
General farm work	177	12.22	12.37	9.88	10.01	11.30	11.00
Seasonal hand work	425	8.46	8.93	7.95	7.78	8.10	8.02
Processing, custom	50	12.83	13.56	9.37	8.28	10.50	9.00
Nonfarm work	44	11.89	12.89	9.29	7.75	--	--
Ethnic group							
Anglo-American	330	11.21	12.29	8.45	8.65	8.79	6.35
Spanish American	175	9.70	10.30	8.90	7.44	8.91	8.59
Mexican	79	9.32	10.38	8.16	8.28	8.67	8.56
Negro	84	10.60	11.34	7.93	6.85	--	7.02
Other	28	10.62	11.08	7.07	--	8.68	--
Migrancy							
Local nonmigrant	373	11.50	12.18	8.61	8.81	10.04	9.93
Local outmigrant	120	9.91	10.85	7.60	7.32	8.66	8.25
Inmigrant	203	8.87	9.73	8.47	7.47	7.20	8.02
Crop specialty							
Cotton only	99	9.25	9.81	7.84	6.91	9.53	7.61
Potatoes only	59	11.76	13.49	9.73	8.40	11.39	--
Grapes only	43	11.34	12.54	9.19	6.47	9.69	9.60
Cotton, potatoes	48	8.59	10.07	8.24	9.12	6.21	--
Cotton, grapes	34	10.55	11.43	8.84	13.06	8.90	--
Other two crops	80	8.90	9.62	7.93	4.40	7.83	9.20
Cotton, potatoes, grapes	28	8.74	9.52	8.65	7.88	8.48	7.34
Other three crops	66	8.86	9.66	6.46	8.71	7.54	6.72
Four crops	34	7.97	8.04	7.07	7.57	9.14	8.77
Five, six, seven crops	29	8.66	8.79	9.07	--	8.44	9.21
Noncrop workers	176	12.31	12.67	9.38	8.53	12.29	9.63
All workers	696	10.56[a]	11.51	8.41	7.92	8.81	8.12

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[a] Average earnings per day in the nation as a whole in 1961 was $7.30. The average in the northeast area was $8.55, in the north central $7.90, in the South $5.65, and in the West $9.75. Samuel Baums, Reed E. Friend, and Robert R. Stansberry, Jr., The Hired Farm Working Force of 1961, U.S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, 1963.

Average earnings per day by workers who specialize in one crop, indicate why they prefer to be specialists. Those in cotton averaged $9.25, in potatoes $11.76, and in grapes $11.34. These figures compare with an average of $7.97 per day for workers who worked in four crops and $8.66 for those who worked in more than four.

Earnings by Crops and Operations

The fact that two-thirds of the seasonal workers now are women or youth makes for low average earnings per day, and particularly in those crops and operations in which they are concentrated. A distribution of the 2,183 jobs reported by the workers indicated that 16 percent yielded less than $6.00 a day, while 20 percent yielded over $12.00 (Appendix Table 13).

Earnings in operations in which women and youth were concentrated, were at the low end of the scale. Over half of the jobs in peas and beans paid less than $6 a day, and almost half of those in cotton. Jobs which called for more able-bodied workers showed much higher earnings. One-sixth or more of the jobs in potatoes, grapes, peaches, plums, and onions paid $12 per day or more.

Approximately one-third of the jobs in construction work yielded $18 a day or more and almost one-fifth of those in processing plants.

Individual Earnings for the Year

Average earnings per worker for the year for all workers in the survey was $1,483 (Table 22). Heads of households averaged $2,199, their wives $673, the school youth $412, and the nonschool youth $1,145. Number of days worked during the year is the most important source of difference.

On an ethnic basis the high average earnings, $1,891, for the "other" workers -- largely Filipinos and Puerto Ricans -- was due to the fact that most of them were adult males. The two women in this group were cooks and had relatively steady employment.

Regular employment plus a somewhat better pay scale give general farm workers a decided advantage over seasonal workers, an average of $2,847 as compared to $854. When comparing heads of households, the differences are almost as great, $3,044 as compared to $1,233. General farm workers also have a significant advantage over the processing and nonfarm workers although their pay scales are quite similar.

TABLE 22

Average Earnings of Farm Workers During Previous 12 Months, Kern County, 1961, by Household Status, Major Employment, Ethnic Group, Migrancy, and Crop Specialization

Group	Workers	Average earnings for the year					
		All workers	Household status				
			Head	Wife	School youth	Nonschool youth	Other
	number	dollars					
Major employment							
General farm work	177	2,847	3,044	2,212	859	1,695	660
Seasonal hand work	425	854	1,233	533	389	1,045	883
Processing, custom	50	1,656	2,440	628	224	819	369
Nonfarm	44	1,878	2,204	1,413	465	2,576	--
Ethnic group							
Anglo-American	330	1,648	2,508	668	398	1,265	508
Spanish American	175	1,251	1,936	685	402	971	867
Mexican	79	1,221	1,556	702	579	1,283	1,001
Negro	84	1,431	1,939	595	424	--	583
Other	28	1,891	2,171	1,450	--	573	--
Migrancy							
Local nonmigrant	373	1,771	2,582	697	405	1,245	258
Local outmigrant	120	1,209	1,780	547	410	1,160	1,064
Inmigrant	203	1,117	1,537	695	426	1,037	946
Crop specialty							
Cotton only	99	703	1,275	377	276	1,143	358
Potatoes only	59	964	1,970	448	412	1,150	--
Grapes only	43	1,349	1,968	689	129	1,066	1,055
Cotton, potatoes	48	996	1,540	659	383	726	--
Cotton, grapes	34	1,118	1,600	619	868	837	--
All other two crops	80	1,068	1,520	595	97	963	754
Cotton, potatoes, grapes	28	943	1,390	857	583	1,525	499
Other three crops	66	1,241	1,566	659	592	1,034	1,122
Four crops	34	1,052	1,150	955	477	1,380	983
Five, six, seven crops	29	1,334	1,353	1,034	--	1,350	1,179
Noncrop workers	176	2,805	3,217	1,491	648	1,746	366
All workers	696	1,483[a]	2,199	673	412	1,145	836
Number of workers	696	696	350	156	70	93	27

[a] Average annual earnings of farm workers in the nation as a whole in 1961 was $788. The average in the northeast area was $1,179, in the north central $992, in the south $514, and in the west $1,299. Samuel Baum, Reed E. Friend, and Robert R. Stansberry, Jr., The Hired Farm Working Force of 1961, U.S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, 1963.

Since most of the regular farm workers are nonmigratory, their earnings boost average earnings of nonmigrants well above those of workers who migrated, $2,582 as compared to $1,648 for heads of households.

When earnings are compiled for all workers on the basis of their specialization or the lack of it, the data indicate that specialization in potatoes or grapes pays well for heads of households, while specialization in cotton does not. Comparative earnings for heads of households were $1,970 and $1,968 for potatoes and grapes and only $1,275 for cotton. These earnings were also higher than those of household heads who worked in more than one crop.[1] Those who worked in two crops averaged $1,543, in three $1,513, and in four or more $1,353. On the other hand, wives who worked in several crops had double the earnings of those who worked only in one.

Earnings per Household

Since most of the farm workers households are close knit, earnings per household may be more significant than earnings per worker. The money earned, particularly in seasonal worker households, was household money and the head of the house had charge of its expenditure. In families in which the wife had more education or knowledge of English than the husband, she might take over this role. Average earnings per household were $2,860. Number of workers in the household and the type of work done by the head were the most important factors in bringing high or low family earnings. Households with four or more workers had average earnings of $4,392, while one worker households averaged $2,333 (Table 23).

Year-round farm worker households averaged $4,070 for the year, due to the fact that some wives of year-round farm workers also worked and had better than average jobs. Average earnings for seasonal worker families was $2,298. All workers in these households usually had a low level of earnings, so their earnings were low in spite of an average of almost three workers per family.

These averages tend to obscure the range of earnings among the various groups of workers. Although Negro households had an average of $2,298 in

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[1] Many of the potato and grape specialists move between 2, 3, or 4 areas and know which growers to work for. A local worker with that amount of efficiency generally shifts into general farm or nonfarm work.

TABLE 23

Average Earnings per Farm Worker Household, Kern County, 1961, by Ethnic Group, Major Employment of Head, Migrancy, Number in Household, and Number of Workers

Group	Households	Average cash income per household
	number	dollars
Ethnic group		
Anglo-American	172	3,146
Spanish American	54	2,741
Mexican	80	2,887
Negro	33	2,298
Other	22	2,565
Major employment of head		
Year-round	76	4,070
Short-term regular	69	2,847
Seasonal	159	2,287
Processing, custom	31	3,436
Nonfarm	26	2,628
Migrancy		
Local nonmigrant	214	3,074
Local outmigrant	60	2,514
Inmigrant	87	2,647
Number in household		
One	39	1,575
Two	51	2,374
Three, four	117	2,863
Five, six	69	2,942
Seven and over	85	3,719
Number workers		
One	161	2,333
Two	126	2,955
Three	38	3,430
Four and over	36	4,392
All households	361	2,860

earnings, 22 percent of them had earnings of less than $1,000 (Table 24). Many of the Negro workers were old and restricted their work to cotton chopping and picking. None of the Negro households had incomes above the $6,000 level. Seasonal worker households had an income distribution quite similar to that of Negro families. Twenty-one percent had incomes of less than $1,000, only 7 percent had incomes over $5,000.

Almost half of the farm labor families, 43 percent, fall into the income group between $2,000 and $4,000, one-third fall below those levels, and almost one-fourth are above. Negro families were well below these levels. Forty-six percent of them had earnings of less than $2,000, only 37 percent were in the $2,000-$4,000 bracket. Their low earnings are associated with two circumstances -- first, many of the Negro workers were old, and second, they specialized too closely in cotton operations.

Probably the most significant comparison is between the families of seasonal and year-round farm workers. Fifty-two percent of the seasonal farm labor families had total earnings of less than $2,000 as compared to only 3 percent of the year-round farm workers. Twelve percent of the seasonal labor households reported earnings of over $4,000 as compared to 49 percent of the households of year-round workers.

Single workers are partially responsible for the large proportion of households with low incomes. Almost one-third had earnings of less than $1,000 and almost three-fourths had earnings of less than $2,000. Some of these workers, were old, others were floaters, and in neither case was it necessary for them to work steadily in order to maintain their customary level of living.

ADJUSTMENT TO AGRICULTURAL CHANGE

This survey can provide only a partial picture of worker adjustment to mechanization. It covers only those workers who still do farm work in the County. A large majority of those who picked cotton in Kern County ten years ago are no longer in its farm labor force. These former workers include: first, large numbers of fruit migrants who included the Kern County cotton harvest as part of their year's employment; second, workers who were trucked in daily during the harvest season from Los Angeles, Fresno, and other centers of population; third, those who have left the local area to engage in farm or nonfarm work elsewhere; and fourth, those who are now drawing old age assistance, social

TABLE 24

Percentage of Farm Worker Households with a Stated Income, Kern County, 1961, by Ethnic Group, Migrancy, Major Employment of Head, Family Size, Number of Workers, and Family Work Pattern a/

Group	Households		Households in each income group						
			Under 1,000	1,000-1,999	2,000-2,999	3,000-3,999	4,000-4,999	5,000-5,999	6,000-and over
	number	percent	percent						
Ethnic group									
Anglo-American	172	100	9	18	23	19	18	8	5
Spanish American	80	100	10	24	30	16	10	5	5
Mexican	33	100	9	34	18	21	3	3	12
Negro	54	100	22	24	24	13	11	6	--
Other	22	100	9	27	18	36	5	--	5
Migrancy									
Local nonmigrant	214	100	10	16	24	21	16	8	5
Local outmigrant	60	100	13	25	30	17	7	6	2
Inmigrant	87	100	13	35	20	14	11	1	6
Major employment of head									
Year-round	76	100	--	3	18	30	32	10	7
Short-term regular	69	100	4	25	29	25	7	9	1
Seasonal	159	100	21	31	24	12	5	3	4
Other	57	100	9	20	24	16	20	4	7
Household size									
One	39	100	31	43	13	10	--	3	--
Two	51	100	16	33	25	10	12	--	4
Three, four	117	100	9	21	27	21	13	6	3
Five, six	69	100	10	17	23	26	15	7	2
Seven and over	85	100	4	12	23	20	20	9	12
Number workers									
One	161	100	19	25	21	21	9	4	1
Two	126	100	7	26	27	13	17	4	6
Three	38	100	3	13	26	26	16	13	3
Four and over	36	100	--	3	22	22	20	14	19
Family work pattern									
Single	39	100	31	43	13	10	--	3	--
Husband, wife, he works	19	100	21	32	26	16	5	--	--
Husband, wife, both work	35	100	11	23	23	12	20	--	11
Husband, wife, children, husband works	101	100	13	18	23	27	13	5	1
Husband, wife works	69	100	7	23	33	7	19	6	5
Husband, wife, children work	45	100	2	9	31	22	18	13	5
Husband, children work	33	100	--	12	21	25	15	9	18
Other	20	100	10	35	5	30	5	10	5
All households	361	100	11	22	24	19	13	6	5
Number of households b/	361	--	41	80	86	68	48	21	17

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a/ Includes income from wages only. Some families had additional income from public welfare, social security, unemployment insurance, veteran's pensions, and other sources.

b/ See Table 1 for a detailed classification of households.

security, or similar payments. Many of these workers, however, are likely to be in a worse situation than before, because they have lost four to five months of fall and winter employment.[1]

Local adjustment of workers to mechanization of the cotton harvest has been underway for several years. Migration of workers from other areas to engage in the cotton harvest has virtually ceased. Local workers now find that local employment in cotton and potatoes will no longer provide them with an adequate income. Half of all migration out of the County occurs during the cotton harvest season to fruit or potato picking in the Northwest, or to cotton picking in Arizona, Texas, or Oklahoma. Mechanization has eliminated the major migratory movement into the County, but has added to seasonal outmigration.

The process of adjustment to new employment has been moving too slowly. Officials of the Kern County Public Welfare Department state that seasonal needs for public assistance have mounted as displacement has progressed. The number of unemployed families receiving special grants of commodities ran as follows during the past two winters:

	1960-61	1961-62
December	521	2,195
January	1,661	3,160
February	1,958	3,564
March	2,588	3,279
April	--	846 -- closed April 13.

Welfare officials reported that practically all of the recipients of these special grants were families of seasonal farm workers. The figures for the winter of 1961-62 are especially high because the winter was rough and comparatively little seasonal employment was available. Apparently half or more of the farm labor families in the County obtained free commodities for several months during that winter. County welfare officials also indicated that the number of cases of aid to needy children had increased during the years of displacement.

As potato harvest and cotton chopping are mechanized, still fewer seasonal potato and cotton workers will be needed. The migratory movement into the County early in the spring can be expected to disappear. A permanent movement out of the County by workers who have specialized in cotton and potatoes will be necessary, unless they are able to shift to other lines of work in the County.

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[1] The effect of cotton mechanization on the fruit migrants is now being checked in a survey in Stanislaus County.

A possible type of adjustment for these workers is to operate some of the new farm equipment. A significant proportion of the farm workers claimed to have had some experience in handling heavy farm machinery -- almost half of the heads of Anglo-American families, and one-third of the heads of Spanish American and Negro families (Appendix Table 14). These included 18 percent of the heads of seasonal worker households. An additional 17 percent of these seasonal worker heads stated that they had experience in handling light farm machinery. Even though some workers may have overstated their proficiency, there are a significant number of seasonal farm workers who have some background in machine operations.

Occupational Preferences

The heads of households were asked to state the type of work they preferred to do. Almost half (45 percent) stated that they wished to stay in farm work (Table 25). A larger number stated a preference for seasonal than for general farm work. These high proportions are partially due to the fact that two-thirds of the Mexican workers and 90 percent of the Filipinos preferred to stay in farm work, and most of them in seasonal operations. Yet, 39 percent of the Anglo-American and Negro workers preferred to stay in farm work. About two-thirds of them specified general farm work.

The actual proportions preferring farm work may run somewhat higher than these percentages. One worker out of six reported that he had no preference. They seemed to be content to do whatever work became available. To them getting enough to eat was more important than the type of effort they exerted to get it.

Fifty-seven percent of the Negro heads of households, 37 percent of the Anglo-American, and 40 percent of the Spanish American expressed a definite preference for some type of nonfarm employment. One-third of the heads of seasonal worker households stated a preference for nonfarm employment.

The farm workers, therefore, are willing to adjust into nonfarm employment, and apparently will do so as fast as openings in this field develop. The preference for nonfarm employment was generally based on higher rates of pay or a higher income.

TABLE 25

Work Preference of Heads of Farm Labor Households, Kern County, 1961, by Ethnic Group, Major Employment, Migrancy, and Preferred Location

Group	Household heads		Heads who prefer							No preference a/
			General farm work	Seasonal farm work	Processing	Truck driving	Construction	Service, trades	Other nonfarm	
	number	percent	percent							
Ethnic group										
Anglo-American	172	100	26	13	8	7	6	5	11	24
Spanish American	80	100	19	25	11	--	19	2	8	16
Mexican	33	100	9	58	6	--	3	3	3	18
Negro	54	100	24	15	3	3	19	17	15	4
Other	22	100	5	85	--	--	--	5	5	--
Major employment of head										
Year-round	76	100	51	16	--	--	7	--	13	13
Short-term regular	69	100	28	10	7	4	9	7	10	25
Seasonal	159	100	9	41	6	2	11	8	6	17
Processing, custom	31	100	6	6	36	20	3	6	10	13
Nonfarm	26	100	4	8	--	8	34	17	21	8
Migrancy										
Local nonmigrant	214	100	26	16	5	2	13	5	13	20
Local outmigrant	60	100	17	27	8	5	8	13	5	17
Inmigrant	87	100	11	44	10	7	6	5	6	11
Preferred location										
Kern County	187	100	24	29	7	4	11	8	6	11
Elsewhere in California	41	100	12	47	7	5	7	5	5	12
Outside California	18	100	33	11	5	--	6	6	11	28
No preference	115	100	18	10	7	4	11	5	17	28
All household heads	361	100	21	24	7	4	10	7	10	17
Number household heads	361	--	76	86	26	14	37	23	35	64

a/ Includes workers who had no preference, those who "didn't know," and those who preferred not to work.

One fortunate aspect of these preferences is that the workers most ready to leave are those whose work is most directly affected by cotton mechanization. Fifty-nine percent of the Negroes expressed a preference for nonfarm employment as compared to only 10 percent of the Filipino and 15 percent of the Mexican workers. The latter are chiefly employed in grapes and have the least to fear from displacement.

Again only 20 percent of the year-round workers expressed a preference for nonfarm employment as compared to 33 percent of the seasonal workers, and 37 percent of the short-term regular workers. A greater percentage of the key workers express a desire to remain in their present type of work.

One group of workers stated that they preferred seasonal farm work because other types of work were too regular. They preferred work which permitted them to have some time of their own between harvests and between seasons. Some of these workers also preferred to move around rather than to be too sedentary. They are the ones who may experience the most difficulty in making an adjustment to other work.

Location Preference

Half of the workers (52 percent) expressed a preference to remain in Kern County. The rest either preferred to work elsewhere or had no preference as to location. This indicates a high degree of flexibility so far as movement out of the area is concerned.

While 76 percent of them regarded Kern County as their home (Table 14), only 37 percent had such a firm attachment to it that they stated this was their reason for wishing to stay (Table 26). Furthermore, only 19 percent of the household heads owned a home in the County (Appendix Table 7). So most of these workers are still quite fluid, and might be expected to move to an area of greater economic opportunity for them.

Some general farm workers expressed a preference to work back in Texas or Oklahoma, where the regular farm worker was on a par with the farm operator, rather than being a specialized driver of tractors or trucks as many are in California.

Previous Nonfarm Experience

Almost half of the farm workers desired to move into nonfarm employment. With a few exceptions they are also the ones who have had some nonfarm experience.

TABLE 26

Where Farm Workers Prefer to Work, and Why, Kern County, 1961

Area preferred	Households reporting	Workers who prefer to work in selected place because				
		Home is there	More regular work	Higher wages	Make more money	Weather
	number					
Kern County	187	134	28	13	9	3
Elsewhere in Calif.	11	6	1	3	--	1
Anywhere in Calif.	30	3	13	9	2	3
Southwestern state	9	6	1	1	1	--
Elsewhere in U.S.	8	5	1	--	2	--
Outside U.S.	1	1	--	--	--	--
No preference[a]	115	--	--	--	--	--
All households	361	155	44	26	14	7

[a] These workers expressed more concern about having work to do, than where it was located.

The urge was less strong in cases of workers whose experience dated back to shipyard or defense employment during World War II, than among these who had been in nonfarm work during recent years.

Over half of the household heads (56 percent) reported that they had some experience in nonfarm work (Table 27). Contrary to expectations, a higher percentage of the Negroes had done some type of nonfarm work than of the Anglo-Americans, 72 percent as compared to 64 percent. Less than half of the Spanish-American and Mexican workers had any nonfarm experience.

One out of five of the household heads reported that they had some experience in construction work. This work is seasonal and permits some dovetailing with seasonal farm employment.

Experience in truck driving, cafe and hotel work, and in machine shop work was also common among them.

Training and Guidance

While the evidence in regard to job preferences indicates that a high proportion of farm workers are willing to shift to nonfarm employment, there still is a question as to the availability of nonfarm employment opportunities for them. Training programs might facilitate this movement but there is little evidence as to what jobs or occupations they should be trained for.

This also applies to any shift to general farm work. Workers are available who have had sufficient experience in machine operation so that a farm operator or foremen could readily break them into the routines of a particular job. The real question is the availability of such jobs.

One type of training could be helpful both in reducing underemployment and seasonal migration. That is, to train the local seasonal workers in a wider range of seasonal skills. This would apply particularly to the workers in grapes. They could handle the seasonal jobs that will remain in the cotton and potato operations. These jobs will largely be as helpers on potato and cotton harvesting equipment. Probably more important than the training as such is assistance in overcoming the idea that certain types of work are for certain types of people. Rigid ideas in regard to job status will be more difficult to overcome than it will be to train the workers to do the work.

It must also be kept in mind that two-thirds of the seasonal farm workers are housewives or youth and that many of them will drop out of the labor market

TABLE 27

Nonfarm Work Experience of Heads of Farm Labor Households, Kern County, 1961, by Ethnic Group and Major Employment

Type nonfarm work experience	All house-hold heads	Ethnic group					Major employment				
							General farm work				
		Anglo-American	Spanish American	Mexican	Negro	Other	Year-round	Short-term	Seasonal farm work	Proces-sing custom	Non-farm
	number										
Construction work											
General	45	21	15	1	8	--	3	9	20	5	8
Skilled trades	30	13	10	3	3	1	8	6	10	4	2
Machine shop work, welding, sheet metal	21	16	--	--	4	1	2	7	8	4	--
Auto mechanic	16	10	3	1	2	--	3	7	3	2	1
Service station	10	8	--	--	2	--	2	3	2	2	1
Truck driver	24	16	2	1	5	--	2	6	8	4	4
Oil field work	13	12	--	--	--	1	6	2	1	1	3
Sawmill, lumbering	13	10	1	--	2	--	6	3	1	1	2
Mining	5	3	2	--	--	--	1	2	--	1	1
Railroad	4	--	2	--	2	--	--	--	4	--	--
Manufacturing	11	6	3	--	--	2	3	1	5	1	1
Retail sales	7	2	3	--	2	--	--	--	5	--	2
Cafe, hotel, house work	22	4	1	4	10	3	4	2	14	--	2
Laundry, cleaning	5	--	2	--	3	--	--	--	2	--	3
Maintenance, janitor	5	2	1	--	2	--	1	1	2	--	1
Trash collection	5	--	2	--	3	--	--	--	2	--	3
All household heads	361[a]	172	80	33	54	22	76	69	159	31	24
Heads with nonfarm experience	203	110	36	12	39	6	35	46	68	26	26

[a] Totals are not additive since two types of nonfarm work experience was reported and tabulated for some workers.

when seasonal tasks are no longer available. The nonschool youth, however, need to gain a foothold in the labor market and most of them lack any systematic knowledge as to the types of employment that are developing as a result of new technology. Special guidance would be helpful to them. Heads of households may need even more assistance.

Whether mechanization of cotton and other seasonal labor operations in California bring a significant social and economic advance may depend on the effort made to assist the displaced workers to locate a new place in the economy. Youth will be freed to continue in school and enter new lines of employment. Migration of workers from crop to crop can be substantially reduced. Skilled workers with higher incomes and a better community status can be substituted for the lower paid seasonal workers. The immediate problem is to:

(1) expand the job opportunities which are within their reach, and
(2) provide guidance and training so that they will make as constructive an adjustment as possible.

Plans for Their Children

Workers who had children in school were questioned in regard to their plans for their children. The typical American household head is ordinarily pictured as planning with his children in regard to their life activities, usually at levels higher than his own. This was the case for about one-fourth of the farm worker families (Table 28). They wanted their children to be educated to a level higher than they had attained, and usually out of farm work. The percentage in this group was lower in Anglo-American households, 21 percent, than among households of any other ethnic group. On the other hand, one-third of the general farm workers stated a desire to advance their children as compared to one-sixth of the seasonal workers.

An additional one-third of the farm workers stated that they would like to have their children attend school, but showed no evidence that they were providing any moral support along that line. As compared to the positive and semipositive attitudes of the parents who wanted their children to move ahead, there were two groups of parents with relatively negative attitudes. They constituted 45 percent of the total. Members of the first group stated that they had no plans for their children's education. Parents with the most negative attitude toward education usually made a statement that amounted to this: "The children will have to get along like we did."

TABLE 28

Plans that Heads of Farm Worker Households Have for Their Children,
Kern County, 1961, by Ethnic Group, Migrancy, and
Major Employment of Head

Group	Household heads with children of school age		Plans for education of children							
			Educate them out of farm work		Have them attend school		No plans for education		Children will have to get along like we did	
	no.	pct.	no.	pct.	no.	pct.	no.	pct.	no.	pct.
Ethnic group										
Anglo-American	97	100	20	21	32	33	35	36	10	10
Spanish American	40	100	10	25	12	30	11	27	7	18
Mexican	18	100	5	28	2	11	5	28	6	33
Negro	18	100	5	28	6	33	7	39	--	--
Other	6	100	3	50	3	50	--	--	--	--
Migrancy										
Local nonmigrant	106	100	25	24	39	37	30	28	12	11
Local outmigrant	33	100	8	24	13	40	6	18	6	18
Inmigrant	40	100	10	25	3	8	22	55	5	12
Major employment of head										
Year-round	43	100	14	33	14	32	12	28	3	7
Short-term regular	34	100	5	15	12	35	13	38	4	12
Seasonal	72	100	12	17	23	32	23	32	14	19
Processing, custom work	17	100	7	41	5	30	5	29	--	--
Nonfarm	13	100	5	38	1	8	5	38	2	16
All household heads	179	100	43	24	55	31	58	32	23	13

Probably the most significant fact in regard to the replies is their demonstration of a lack of understanding that education is a necessary part of preparation for life. Almost half, and possibly more, of the parents have not caught the generally accepted belief that education now is a necessity. Lack of this belief was especially great among seasonal and Mexican workers.

Ex-farm Workers

No effort was made to obtain a systematic record of the present employment of all workers who had moved out of farm work. Data were obtained from the nonfarm households in the sample areas, however, as to whether the household head had done any farm work during the past ten years and as to what his occupation was at the present time. A total of 246 household heads in the sample areas had shifted from farm work. Over two-thirds of these people were still working, while the rest were retired or living on welfare payments. Fiften percent had gone into some phase of construction work, around 10 percent had obtained work in a service station or garage (Table 29). The homes of the ex-farm workers usually showed recent signs of improvement, and had better furnishing and equipment than those of their farm-worker neighbors. They were not questioned in regard to amount of employment or income.

The percentages in this table must be regarded as only a general indication as to what ex-farm workers do. They pertain only to families still living in the "farm labor" areas of Kern County and do not include farm workers who had moved to jobs in other cities, nor to those who had moved locally out of the farm labor areas.

TABLE 29

Present Employment of Heads of Households in the Sample Areas Who Had Left Farm Work During the Previous Ten Years, Kern County, 1961

Present employment	Number reporting	Percent of total
Construction	36	15
Service station, garage	24	10
Machine shop work	13	5
Truck driving	13	5
Maintenance	12	5
Processing	11	5
Trade and sales	10	4
Manufacturing	9	4
Pipeline work	8	3
Railroad	8	3
Other occupation	28	11
Welfare	22	9
Retired	52	21
All heads of households	246	100

SUMMARY

The growth of technology is transforming agriculture in the United States, and, at a slower pace, in the rest of the world. One aspect of this growth is the substitution of power machinery for hand labor. This process is now changing the human and social aspects that surround cotton production. In California, cotton has been associated with high seasonal labor demands, and in consequence with underemployment and migration. Mechanization is changing labor needs in cotton production from large numbers of seasonal workers to a small number of skilled technicians. This change may be expected to affect the migratory labor situation over much of the State, as many workers in the fruit areas depended on cotton picking or chopping to fill out their work season.

The present study was limited to Kern County where mechanization of the cotton harvest has displaced around 25,000 workers during the past 12 years. One significant aspect of the situation is that the high peak of seasonal labor use has been eliminated and the need for migratory labor greatly reduced. Some spring operations (potato picking and cotton chopping) are now being mechanized, and when this is done the need for migrant labor may disappear altogether.

Over half of the household heads in the present labor force are general farm workers. Two-thirds of the workers still in seasonal employment are women or youth. When potato picking and cotton chopping are mechanized, most of these seasonal workers will lose their place in the farm economy. The need for special training of youth will be increased.

To regard seasonal farm workers as a labor force willing to perform any seasonal job is erroneous. Negro workers have specialized in cotton operations while Anglo-Americans have been associated largely with cotton, potatoes, and tree fruits. Filipinos have worked only in grapes. Spanish American workers, and particularly those who have come from Mexico in recent years, have been less specialized and adapt most easily to changes in labor demands. They constitute the best basis for a stable local labor supply that will do any type of seasonal work.

The special handicap of Anglo workers lies in the feelings of status which have become attached to some types of farm work. Some Anglo workers find it less injurious to their self-respect to obtain free commodities from the Welfare Department than to weed and hoe vegetables. They may also decline to work in a field in which the other workers are Spanish American or Negro. Unless they overcome these prejudices, they may be unable to continue in seasonal farm work. The work season for their present operations has become too short.

General farm workers are also becoming specialized. Some are hired only to drive a tractor, or a truck, others to irrigate, others to keep the equipment in repair. As farm operations become larger, jobs become more specialized and business and professional employees are added to the staff.

The need for seasonal workers varies markedly during the course of the year. Labor demands are minor until May when several thousand workers are needed both for cotton chopping and potato picking. By the middle of June, a peak of around 15,000 workers are used. This number drops to around 5,000 in July and remains close to that figure until the end of the year. Lack of employment during January, February, and March is a major problem for the worker and apparently will continue to be.

Migrancy has been an established aspect of labor use. Anglo-Americans and Spanish Americans migrate to the County each spring to pick up potatoes and chop cotton. They are likely to leave when the spring season is over. Filipinos move in in July and August to harvest the grapes. Most of them leave when the grape harvest is done. Yet, a local labor force has developed and is now the major element in the labor supply.

Mechanization has virtually eliminated the movement into the County to pick cotton. In the thirties, approximately three-fourths of the workers in the County were inmigrants; during the forties the proportion was around one-half; now it is close to one-fourth. Seasonal outmigration, however, has increased, one worker in six moved out during the summer to work in the fruit.

General farm workers were adequately employed, an average of 233 days during the year, but seasonal workers were underemployed. Seasonal workers who were heads of households averaged 138 days of work, their wives 67 days, and school children 50 days. For those who worked only in cotton, heads of households averaged 130 days, their wives 48 days, and their children in school 40 days.

Most of the underemployment was due to lack of more work to do, but part was due to a preference on the part of some workers to work seasonally or sporadically rather than continuously. This applies particularly to housewives and children but was also true of some heads of households.

The superior economic position of the general farm worker is further evidenced by their earnings, an average of 2,847 for the year as compared to an average of

$854 for seasonal workers. Heads of households among the seasonal workers averaged $1,233 and their wives $533.

Household earnings were within a narrower range due to the fact that more people were employed in the seasonal labor households. Household earnings of year-round farm workers averaged $4,070, those of short-term regular workers $2,847, and those of seasonal workers $2,287.

It is not surprising, then, that heads of from 2,500 to 3,000 farm worker families, or about half of those in the County, had to apply for special grants of food during the three to four slack employment months during the winter of 1961-62. Welfare grants have increased with the mechanization of the cotton harvest. A group of workers still cling to the industry, partially out of habit, but largely because of a lack of other employment opportunities.

Half of these workers have had some experience in nonfarm work and most of these people would prefer to be back in nonfarm employment. Some seasonal workers have had experience in handling heavy equipment and would like to have regular farm employment. Yet about 40 percent of the seasonal farm workers prefer to remain in seasonal farm employment. Some of these have had no experience in other lines of work, others prefer the freedom and absence from routine that is associated with seasonal employment.

The greatest impediments to readjustment of the displaced farm workers within the agricultural economy are the status feelings and ethnic prejudices associated with some types of farm jobs. If the farm workers are to be able to live and work in Kern County the year around, they will need to gain proficiency in a wide variety of crops. To overcome community prejudices against stoop labor and similar types of seasonal work will be much more difficult then to train the workers to become proficient in those lines of work. A community program to upgrade farm work, and stoop labor in particular, should accompany any effort to improve the usefulness of the local labor force. Youth may need special direction or training. Mechanization has reduced their employment opportunities and they need guidance into other types of employment.

The long-range effects of cotton and potato mechanization should constitute a significant social and economic advance in the State. The immediate problem of adjustment of manpower to changes in demand can be eased by constructive action by growers and crew leaders, and by employment and counseling agencies.

APPENDIX TABLES

APPENDIX TABLE 1

Primary and Secondary Types of Work Performed by Workers in Farm Labor Households, Kern County, 1961

Primary type of work	All workers	Workers with one type of work only		Workers with a secondary type of work				Workers with two or more secondary types of work
		Year-round[a]	Less than year-round	General farm work	Seasonal farm work	Proces-sing work	Nonfarm work	
General farm hand	38	21	3	--	8	2	2	2
General hand worker	32	14	2	--	12	2	--	2
Equipment operator	46	8	16	--	13	3	2	4
Irrigator	22	4	5	--	10	2	--	1
Tractor driver and irrigator	15	3	5	--	4	1	1	1
Scientific, technical	11	7	2	--	--	--	--	2
Foreman, supervisor	13	8	2	--	3	--	--	--
Seasonal hand worker	425	--	362	26	--	13	16	8
Processing worker	40	2	19	1	12	1	2	3
Custom worker	10	2	3	1	2	--	1	1
Nonfarm worker	44	6	9	5	21	--	--	3
All workers	696	75	428	33	85	24	24	27

[a] Year-round -- employment on a 10 to 12 month basis.

APPENDIX TABLE 2

Size of Farm Worker Households, Kern County, 1961, by Ethnic Group, Major Employment of Head, and Migrancy

Ethnic group	Households		Households with a given number of members				
			One	Two	Three, four	Five, six	Seven and over
	number	percent	percent				
Ethnic group							
Anglo-American	172	100	6	20	35	20	19
Spanish American	80	100	11	5	30	25	29
Mexican	33	100	13	6	28	13	40
Negro	54	100	11	20	30	13	26
Other	22	100	45	--	32	14	9
Major employment of head							
Year-round	76	100	3	10	38	20	29
Short-term regular	69	100	7	19	32	17	25
Seasonal	159	100	18	13	28	20	21
Processing, custom	31	100	3	16	46	16	19
Nonfarm	26	100	8	17	25	21	29
Migrancy							
Local nonmigrant	214	100	4	18	35	19	24
Local outmigrant	60	100	12	14	28	18	28
Inmigrant	87	100	16	8	33	21	22
All households	361	100	11	14	32	19	24
Comparative percent of households in United States a/	--	100	13	28	36	17	6
Number of households	361	--	39	51	117	69	85

a/ Data from Household and Family Characteristics, March 1961, Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-20, No. 116, Washington, 1962.

APPENDIX TABLE 3

Family Work Pattern in Farm Labor Households, Kern County, 1961, by Major Employment of Head, Ethnic Group, Migrancy, and Household Income a/

Group	Husband and wife households			Husband, wife, and children households				
	Number	Head only worked	Both worked	Number	Head only worked	Head and wife worked	Head, wife, and children worked	Head and children worked
		percent			percent			
Major employment of head								
Year-round	11	27	73	62	61	23	8	8
Short-term regular	13	31	69	51	41	35	18	6
Seasonal	18	44	56	98	29	25	25	21
Other	12	33	67	36	31	36	20	13
Ethnic group b/								
Anglo-American	34	35	65	123	38	31	20	11
Spanish American	6	33	67	61	38	23	23	16
Mexican	2	50	50	19	21	21	16	42
Negro	10	30	70	35	57	29	14	0
Migrancy								
Local nonmigrant	32	39	61	153	47	29	15	9
Local outmigrant	10	33	67	42	44	21	19	16
Inmigrant	12	20	80	52	22	28	26	24
Household income								
Under $1,000	8	50	50	19	68	26	6	0
1,000 - 1,999	14	43	57	42	42	38	10	10
2,000 - 2,999	13	38	62	67	34	34	21	11
3,000 - 3,999	7	43	57	51	55	10	20	15
4,000 - 4,999	8	15	85	39	33	33	21	13
5,000 - 5,999	4	0	100	29	21	23	28	28
All households	54	35	65	247	41	28	18	13

a/ Table does not include single member households, nor those made up of nonrelated persons.
b/ Does not include nine "other" workers.

APPENDIX TABLE 4

Crops in which Farm Workers Engaged, Kern County, 1961,
by Household Status

Crops	All workers[a]		Household status									
			Head		Wife		School youth		Nonschool youth		Other	
	no.	pct.	no.	pct.	no.	pct.	no.	pct.	no.	pct.	no.	pct.
Cotton only	99	19	36	17	34	24	22	35	3	4	4	17
Potatoes only	59	11	17	8	26	19	9	15	7	8	--	--
Grapes only	43	8	20	9	8	6	3	5	8	10	4	17
Cotton, potatoes only	48	9	18	9	15	11	2	3	13	16	--	--
Cotton, grapes only	34	7	15	7	9	7	2	3	8	10	--	--
All other two crops	80	15	36	17	21	15	4	6	17	21	2	9
Cotton, potatoes, grapes	28	5	8	4	7	5	9	14	2	2	2	9
All other three crops	66	13	38	18	9	6	8	13	7	8	4	17
Four crops	34	7	13	6	7	5	4	6	6	7	4	17
Five, six, seven crops	29	6	11	5	3	2	--	--	12	14	3	14
All workers	520	100	212	100	139	100	63	100	83	100	23	100

a/ Includes 425 workers who engaged primarily in seasonal hand work plus 95 more who engaged in it as a secondary activity. It does not include workers who engaged only in cultivating, irrigating, and other general farm operations.

APPENDIX TABLE 5

Type and Extent of Migrancy of Farm Labor Households, Kern County, 1961

Type and extent of migrancy	Total households	Only head moved	Entire family moved
	number		
No migration			
Home in Kern County, all work there	214	--	--
Inmigration--nonseasonal			
Move to Kern County--presumably permanent			
From inside California	3	--	3
From other state	6	3	3
From outside United States	7	7	--
Total	16	10	6
Inmigration--seasonal			
Work at home base and in Kern County only			
Home base in California	5	3	2
Home base in another state	11	3	8
Work at home base, in Kern, and in one other area			
All work in California	5	--	5
Work outside California	2	--	2
Work at home base, in Kern, and in two other areas			
All work in California	3	1	2
Work outside California	7	1	6
Work at home base, in Kern, and in three other areas			
Work outside California	1	1	--
Work at home base, in Kern, and in four other areas			
Work outside California	1	--	1
Total	35	9	26
Inmigration--temporary but longer than one season[a]			
Home elsewhere in California, worked only in Kern	2	1	1
Home in another state, worked only in Kern	5	--	5
Home outside the United States, worked only in Kern	7	5	2
Home in another state			
Worked in Kern and one other area	14	5	9
Worked in Kern and two other areas	5	--	5
Worked in Kern and three other areas	2	1	1
Worked in Kern and four other areas	1	--	1
Total	36	12	24
Outmigration--seasonal			
Home in Kern County, to one location and back			
Inside California	27	19	8
Outside California	6	5	1
Home in Kern County, to two locations and back			
Inside California	13	7	6
Outside California	8	4	4
Home in Kern County, to three locations and back			
Inside California	1	--	1
Outside California	4	3	1
Home in Kern County, to four locations and back			
Inside California	1	--	1
Total	60	38	22
Total migratory	147	69	78
Grand total	361		

[a] Moved into Kern County prior to the survey period, but still regard another state or area as their home. Classified elsewhere as seasonal inmigrants.

APPENDIX TABLE 6

Ethnic Group and Migrancy of Workers in Major Seasonal
Operations, Kern County, 1961

Group	Workers in each ethnic or migrancy group							
	Picking potatoes	Picking grapes	Pruning grapes	Chopping cotton	Picking cotton	Picking peaches	Thinning fruit	Picking citrus
	percent							
Ethnic group[a]								
Anglo-American	56	10	11	41	37	65	30	35
Spanish American	29	44	42	24	25	4	33	50
Mexican	11	28	29	14	12	31	33	10
Negro	3	7	3	18	26	--	4	--
Other	1	11	15	3	--	--	--	5
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Migrancy								
Local nonmigrant	17	43	48	58	50	--	30	45
Local outmigrant	29	24	15	15	25	31	3	10
Inmigrant	54	33	37	27	25	69	67	45
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number of workers	388	216	144	305	220	26	27	20

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a/ Ethnic and migrancy classifications are described in the sections on The Farm Worker and Migrancy, respectively.

APPENDIX TABLE 7

Farm Labor Households in Kern County which Own Their Own Homes, 1961, by Ethnic Group, Migrancy, Major Employment of Head, Household Size, and Household Income

Group	All households		Own a home				Own a trailer	
			In Kern County		Elsewhere			
	number	percent	number	percent	number	percent	number	percent
Ethnic group								
Anglo-American	172	100	29	17	8	5	1	1
Spanish American	80	100	26	32	10	12	--	--
Mexican	33	100	1	3	17	51	--	--
Negro	54	100	14	26	1	2	1	2
Other	22	100	--	--	4	18	--	--
Migrancy								
Local nonmigrant	214	100	62	29	--	--	1	1
Local outmigrant	60	100	8	13	1	2	1	2
Inmigrant	87	100	--	--	39	45	--	--
Major employment of head								
Year-round	76	100	15	20	4	5	--	--
Short-term regular	69	100	10	14	3	4	1	1
Seasonal	159	100	31	20	27	11	1	1
Processing, custom	31	100	6	19	2	6	--	--
Nonfarm	26	100	8	33	4	17	--	--
Household size								
One	39	100	4	10	9	23	--	--
Two	51	100	9	18	3	6	--	--
Three, four	117	100	24	21	11	9	2	1
Five, six	69	100	14	20	9	13	--	--
Seven and over	85	100	19	22	8	9	--	--
Household income								
Under $1,000	41	100	10	24	5	12	--	--
1,000 - 1,999	80	100	12	15	14	17	1	1
2,000 - 2,999	86	100	22	26	10	12	1	1
3,000 - 3,999	68	100	9	13	6	9	--	--
4,000 - 4,999	48	100	12	25	3	6	--	--
5,000 and over	38	100	5	13	2	5	--	--
All households	361	100	70	19	40	11	2	1

APPENDIX TABLE 8

Farm Workers Who Worked Less than 100 Days During the Previous Year, by Household Status, Age, Major Employment, and Migrancy, Kern County, 1961

		Workers with under 100 days of work					
			Household status				
Group	All workers	Total	Head	Wife	School youth	Non-school youth	Other
				number			
Major employment							
General farm work	177	12	3	1	3	4	1
Seasonal hand work	425	229	39	91	56	34	9
Processing, custom	50	23	6	10	3	3	1
Nonfarm	44	12	6	3	3	--	--
Age							
Under 25	215	131	5	18	65	38	5
25 - 44	267	80	16	56	--	3	5
45 - 64	195	56	26	30	--	--	--
65 and over	19	9	7	1	--	--	1
Migrancy							
Local nonmigrant	373	145	30	63	29	22	1
Local outmigrant	120	51	9	18	18	4	2
Inmigrant	203	80	15	24	18	15	8
All workers	696		361	156	70	93	16
Workers with under 100 days		276	54	105	65	41	11

APPENDIX TABLE 9

Month-by-Month Employment of Seasonal Farm Workers by Number of Crops Worked in During the Year, Kern County, 1961[a]

Month	Workers employed during the month who worked in[b]					
	Cotton only	Potatoes only	Grapes only	Two crops	Three crops	Four crops or more
	percent					
January	11	19	37	36	38	16[c]
February	13	14	33	25	26	19
March	10	15	33	20	18	40
April	17	25	33	31	45	48
May	55	49	47	75	61	78
June	70	63	56	81	80	78
July	45	54	72	64	62	71
August	28	32	58	46	68	63
September	46	15	67	52	54	63
October	49	36	63	51	60	63
November	34	24	40	40	46	48
December	24	31	42	40	39	48
All workers	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number of workers	99	59	43	162	99	63

[a] Based on 525 workers who did seasonal farm work.

[b] For 12 days or more during the month.

[c] Low percentages in January and February were due to many of these workers wintering either in Texas or in Mexico.

APPENDIX TABLE 10

Month-by-Month Employment of Farm Workers, Kern County, 1961, by Household Status and Ethnic Group

Month	Workers employed a/											
	Household heads			Wives b/			School youth b/			Nonschool youth b/		
	Anglo-American	Spanish American, Mexican	Negro and other	Anglo-American	Spanish American, Mexican	Negro and other	Anglo-American	Spanish American, Mexican	Negro and other	Anglo-American	Spanish American, Mexican	Negro and other
	percent											
January	56	61	51	22	20	19	--	3	17	23	33	25
February	57	46	43	13	11	19	--	3	--	26	17	--
March	50	51	51	11	16	19	--	--	--	20	28	--
April	65	64	47	27	22	19	3	3	--	54	46	--
May	83	84	84	34	53	62	15	28	33	74	69	75
June	94	87	80	60	56	54	74	80	83	94	85	100
July	83	80	71	49	42	35	35	53	33	80	83	25
August	75	77	69	27	42	35	38	73	--	57	56	25
September	77	79	75	34	42	46	38	17	67	66	57	--
October	79	74	84	37	49	54	27	17	17	74	59	--
November	74	70	72	22	24	50	9	13	17	40	43	--
December	67	75	71	19	32	42	3	10	17	60	33	75
All workers	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number of workers	172	113	76	85	45	26	34	30	6	35	54	4

a/ For 12 days or more during the month.

b/ These figures do not include all wives, school youth, and nonschool youth in the farm worker households. They cover only those who did some work for pay during the year.

APPENDIX TABLE 11

Major and Secondary Reasons Why Workers Worked Less than 265 Days the Previous 12 Months, Kern County, 1961

Reason for not working	Workers reporting each reason as				Total times each reason was reported	Workers who mentioned each reason
	Major		Secondary[a]			
	number	percent	number	percent	number	percent
Number workers reporting	696[b]	100	--	--	--	--
Number workers reporting no loss of work	118	17	--	--	--	--
Number workers with some loss of work	578	83	--	--	--	--
Number workers with no secondary reason	305	44	--	--	--	--
Number workers with some loss of work	578	100	273	100	--	--
No more work available	211	37	85	15	296	52
No work available in his line	28	5	28	5	56	10
Newcomer	4	1	32	6	36	7
Out of labor market						
Housewife	124	21	21	4	145	25
School	76	13	3	--	79	13
Age, welfare, marginal	66	11	29	5	95	16
Sickness, injury	21	4	8	1	29	5
Vacation, trips home	15	2	12	2	27	4
All the work he wanted	22	4	53	9	75	13
Self-employed c/	11	2	2	--	13	2

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a/ A total of 297 workers gave more than one reason for loss of time.

b/ Persons who worked for 265 days or more. Fifty-seven workers had 300 or more days of employment.

c/ Reasons not shown include: weather, sickness in the family, jail, or road camp.

APPENDIX TABLE 12

Number of Years That Heads of Farm Worker Households Have Worked for Their Present Employer, Kern County, 1961, by Ethnic Group and Major Employment a/

Group	Household heads		Workers who worked for present employer					
			Under 1 year	1-2 years	3-5 years	6-9 years	10-19 years	20 years and over
	number	percent	percent					
Ethnic group								
Anglo-American	172	100	48	15	18	12	4	3
Spanish American	80	100	49	11	28	7	5	--
Mexican	33	100	85	6	9	--	--	--
Negro	54	100	52	4	20	13	11	--
Other	22	100	36	9	23	9	14	9
Major employment of head								
Year-round	76	100	9	21	30	15	16	9
Short-term regular	69	100	48	20	19	10	3	--
Seasonal	159	100	72	6	14	6	1	1
Processing, custom	31	100	36	6	32	16	10	--
Nonfarm	26	100	79	--	13	8	--	--
All household heads	361	100	52	11	20	10	5	2
Number of household heads	361	--	186	41	72	35	19	8

a/ Question asked in regard to household heads only. Employment was not necessarily continuous. Seasonal and migratory workers were permitted to total the number of years during which they had worked for their present employer. Labor contractors not included as employers.

APPENDIX TABLE 13

Average Earnings per Day, by Type of Job, Farm Workers, Kern County, 1961 a/

Type of job	Jobs		Jobs with average earnings per day of				
			Under $6.00	$6.00-8.99	$9.00-11.99	$12.00-14.99	$15.00 & over
	number	percent	percent				
General farm work	295	100	4	8	38	33	17
Seasonal hand work							
Chop cotton	305	100	3	25	72	--	--
Pick cotton	220	100	49	38	11	1	1
Pick potatoes	388	100	18	35	31	12	4
Prune grapes	144	100	1	23	72	2	2
Pick grapes	216	100	10	29	43	16	2
Thin peaches	27	100	26	7	53	7	7
Pick peaches	26	100	8	38	38	16	--
Pick prunes	28	100	36	22	36	3	3
Pick beans	24	100	50	29	8	13	--
Pick peas	26	100	81	15	--	4	--
Harvest onions	28	100	11	14	54	21	--
Other seasonal	164	100	37	26	22	10	5
Other work							
Nursery work	25	100	12	48	36	4	--
Custom work	47	100	8	4	30	35	23
Processing	126	100	--	12	35	19	34
Construction work	28	100	4	4	18	20	54
House, hotel, cafe	24	100	21	46	25	4	4
Other nonfarm work	42	100	24	14	19	29	14
All jobs	2,183	100	16	25	39	13	7

a/ These figures present the earnings of farm workers at various types of jobs. It should be indicated, however, that some jobs were done outside Kern County, e.g., picking peaches, beans, peas, berries, and prunes. Some jobs were done largely by women and children, others by adult males -- so their comparability is limited.

APPENDIX TABLE 14

Type of Equipment which Heads of Farm Worker Households Can Handle, Kern County, 1961, by Ethnic Group, Migrancy and Major Employment

Group	Household heads		Heads who can handle		
			Heavy equipment	Light equipment only	Neither
	number	percent	percent		
Ethnic group					
Anglo-American	172	100	48	17	35
Spanish American	80	100	34	18	48
Mexican	33	100	6	36	58
Negro	54	100	30	13	57
Other	22	100	--	5	95
Migrancy					
Local nonmigrant	214	100	38	14	48
Local outmigrant	60	100	40	20	40
Inmigrant	87	100	25	24	51
Major employment of head					
Year-round	76	100	55	13	32
Short-term regular	69	100	58	23	19
Seasonal	159	100	18	17	65
Processing, custom work	31	100	36	20	44
Nonfarm	26	100	25	13	62
All household heads	361	100	35	18	47
Number household heads	361	--	127	63	171